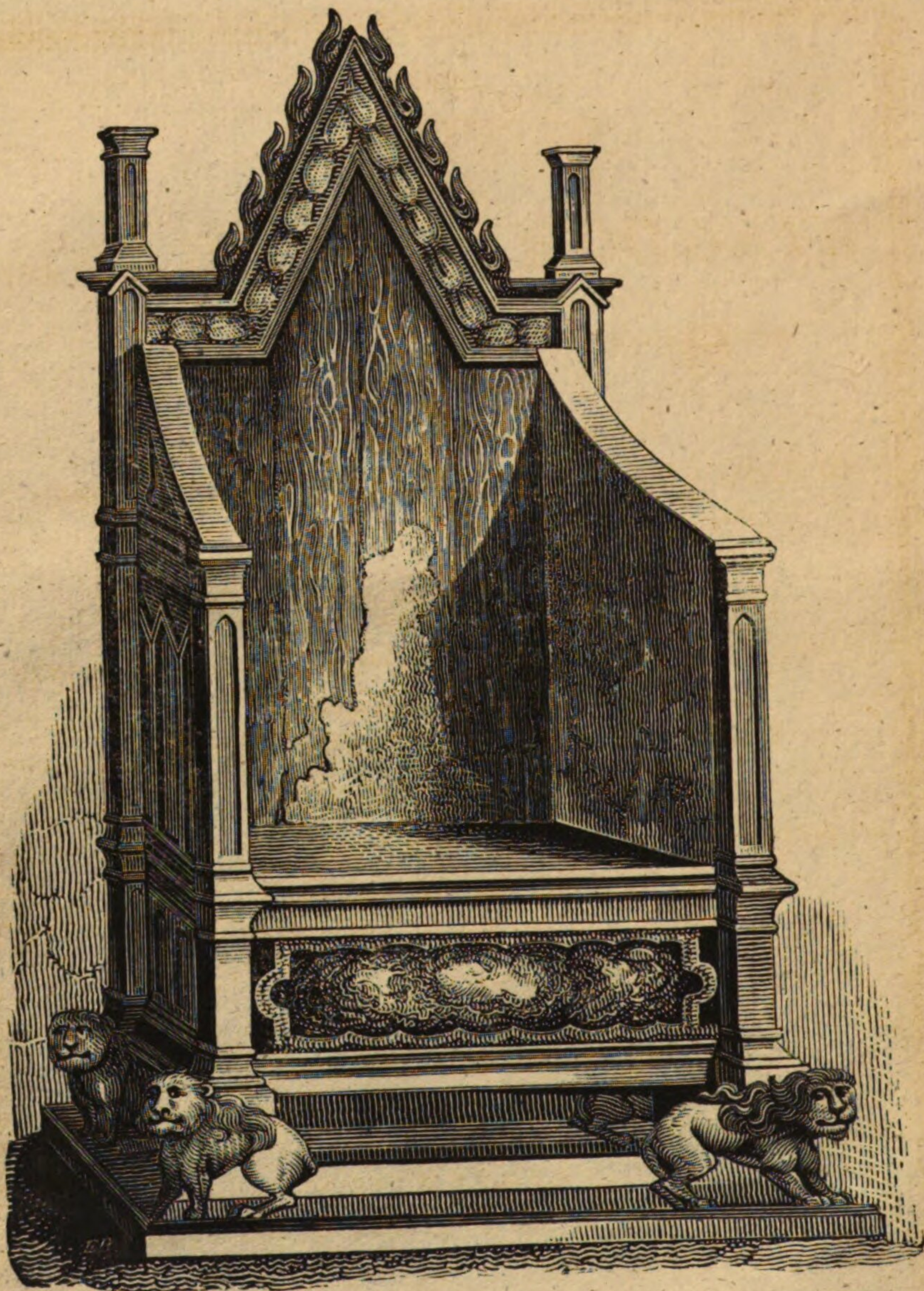

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CORONATION CHAIR.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND;

Containing an Account of the most
REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS AND REVOLUTIONS IN
SCOTLAND,

For above Twelve Hundred Years past,
DURING THE REIGNS OF SIXTY-SEVEN KINGS;

From the Year of our Lord, 424, to the happy Union of both Kingdoms,

UNDER

KING JAMES

The Sixth of Scotland, and First of England, of blessed memory, in 1602;

INTERMIXED WITH A VARIETY OF

EXCELLENT SPEECHES, STRANGE ACCIDENTS,

Prodigious Appearances,

AND OTHER VERY CONSIDERABLE MATTERS, BOTH DELIGHTFUL AND PROFITABLE.

BY RICHARD BURTON.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH WOOD-CUT PORTRAITS.

Westminster:

PRINTED FOR

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By W. Smith & Co. 6, King Street, Seven Dials.

1813.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND:

Containing an account of the most
remarkable transactions and revolutions in
SCOTLAND,

For above thirty hundred years past;
DURING THE REIGNS OF SIXTY-SEVEN KINGS;
From the first of which, to the happy time of his Majesty

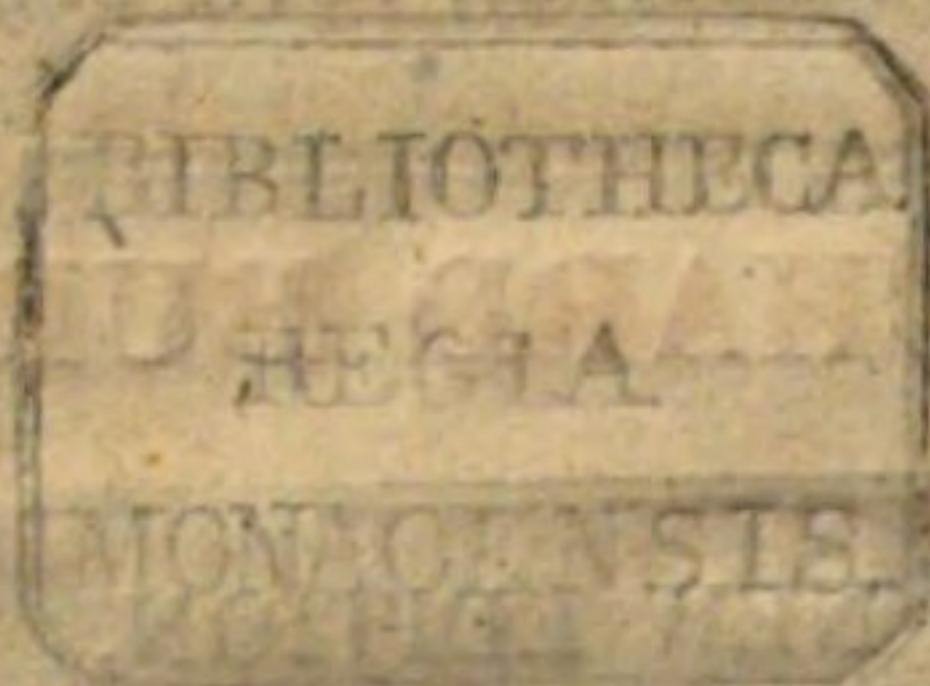
KING JAMES

The Sixth of Scotland, and King of England, Edward the Sixth, in 1554.

INTERMIXED WITH A HISTORY OF
EXCELLENT VIRTUES, STRANGE ACCIDENTS,

PRODIGIOUS QUINQUAGESIMS,

AND OTHER VERY REMARKABLE MATTERS, WITH BATTLE-FIELD AND BATTLE-PICTURES.



WITH A GOOD CUT PORTRAIT

OF

THE KING

PRINTED AT THE PRESS OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, IN THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

1812

M

TO THE READER.

TWO considerations induced me to draw up this brief collection: first, that I have not observed any thing already extant of this nature in so small a volume, notwithstanding the transactions, revolutions, and accidents have been as remarkable in this kingdom, as it may be in any other in Europe; so that they must needs be very surprising to most readers, who can hardly imagine that such strong actions should be performed in our neighbour nations, and we have little or no notice or account thereof in any of our modern histories. Second consideration was, that having already published a book of the same value concerning the Kings of England, and two or three other little Tracts of the most considerable occurrences and rarities in that country, I could not but think it necessary and pleasant to give some particular account of what has happened in former ages in his Majesty's other famous kingdom of Scotland, wherein I aim at plainness and brevity, yet have left out nothing material, as far as it was possible to reduce so many notable passages into so

small a compass, which I doubt not but you will acknowledge upon perusing hereof, and neither repent your pains nor cost, which is the real wish of

R. B.*

* The Publisher conceives that it may not be improper to subjoin the following extract from a book, (obligingly lent him by Mr. Denley, Bookseller, Holborn,) intitled "*Dunton's Whipping Post, or a Satyr upon every Body, 1706,*" as it proves that the initials R. B. (i. e. Richard Burton) affixed to this and various other similar compilations, are fictitious, the real name of the compiler being Nat. Crouch:—"To say the truth, Mr. Crouch collects his news with so much accuracy and judgment, that he is only out-done by the postman and those high-flyers I nam'd before; so that I admire the English post should still continue in the number of the lesser flyers, for Crouch prints nothing but what is very useful, and very diverting: so that R. B. (alias Nat. Crouch) is become a celebrated author. But (as you find in the History of my Life, p. 282) I think I have given you the very soul of his character, when I have told you that his talent lies at collection. He has melted down the best of our English histories into twelve-penny books, (which are fill'd with wonders, rarities, and curiosities;) for you must know, his title pages are a little swelling. However, Nat. Crouch is a very ingenious person, and can talk fine things upon any subject. This weekly (and monthly) author endeavours to fit his matter to the capacity of his readers, as desiring rather their profit, than his own applause."

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND;

OR,
AN ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS, DURING THE REIGNS
OF SIXTY-SIX KINGS OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE YEAR OF OUR
LORD, 424, TO THE HAPPY UNION OF BOTH KINGDOMS, BY
KING JAMES, OF BLESSED MEMORY, IN 1602.

THE Scots, as well as other nations, esteeming it glorious to derive themselves from far-fetched antiquity, do affirm their original descent to be from the Greeks and Egyptians; upon which account their ancient historians have related, that a certain noble Greek, called Gathelus, (the son of Cecrops, who built the city of Athens: others say, the son of Argus, fourth King of Argives,) growing very extravagant, and committing divers outrages in Macedonia and Achaia, was often severely reprehended by his father for his unruly actions; but the young man, impatient of reproof, and continuing his irregularities, was thereupon banished by his father. In this his exile, consorting himself with several stout youths of the same humour, they went altogether into Egypt, and were gladly entertained by Pharaoh Orus, then King of that country, who employed them under Moses, the Captain-general, against the Ethiopians,

who had invaded Egypt as far as Memphis. Gathelus marched under Moses, who, as Josephus reporteth, was chosen commander in chief by the voice of an oracle; and the Ethiopians received a very great overthrow, with the loss of Saba, their principal city in the Isle of Meroe. In this encounter, as well as many others afterwards, Gathelus gave such proof of his conduct and courage, that he became very much in favour with Pharaoh; but Moses was rather envied than honoured for his valour, since the King fearing that the Israelites increasing so extremely, might one day challenge the government of the kingdom; whereupon Moses was sent out of the country, and went into the land of Midian: but to Gathelus and his followers the city of Thebes was given, which had been formerly the Israelites: and to add to his honour, Pharaoh gave him his daughter in marriage, whose name, you must know, was Scota, of whose posterity, it seems, came the Scoti, or the nation of Scots; and the land where they inhabited was called Scotia, or Scotland.

Gathelus being thus advanced, lived all the days of his father-in-law in great splendor, but he dying after the third generation, another Pharaoh, called Cheucres, succeeded, who oppressed the Israelites in Egypt more than his predecessors, till Moses, by divine appointment, returning from Midian, declared God's will that he should let go the people; which Pharaoh refusing, was horribly plagued, and more severe judgments threatened. Gathelus believing the oracle, resolved to forsake this miserable country; and providing a great number of ships, he, with his wife and children, with a multitude of Greeks and Egyptians, sailed out of the river Nilus in the year of the world 2453, after he had dwelt in Egypt thirty-nine years. After many dangers at sea, they first touched upon the coast of Barbary; from whence being beaten back by the inhabitants, they embarked again and landed in a part of Spain, called Lusitania, and called the place where they went a-shore, Port Gathele, of this Gathelus, which they say was afterward, by corruption, called Portugal, as at this day. When the Spaniards understood their arrival, they came against them with strong forces; but, after a bloody fight, were routed by Gathelus, which much encouraged him and his followers: soon after, it was agreed that they should continue there, and Gathelus built a city, called Mundus, and after, Bacchara. But the Spaniards perceiving these strangers mightily to increase, designed to have forced them away; yet, doubting their strength, they proposed to Gathelus to remove to the north side of Spain, now called Galicia, as being thinly peopled;

which he willingly accepted; and sacrificing publicly to his Gods for his good success, he departed thither with all his people, and making a league with the natives, built a city, called Brigantia, now Compostella. Being thus settled, Gathelus was called King, and ordained good laws; and because he would have all his followers under one government, he commanded that they should be called Scotchmen, from his wife Scota.

In process of time, growing very populous, the Spaniards resolved to root them out; but after a sharp fight, the Scots remained conquerors; upon which, peace followed, and it was agreed they should live after their own laws, and not to be disturbed. Gathelus being thus established, saith our historian, sate upon his marble stone in Brigantia, administering justice to his people. This stone was like a chair, and attended with such a fatal destiny, that the Scots say, wheresoever it should be found, their nation should reign; and therefore it was removed from Spain to Ireland, and then to Scotland, all their Kings being crowned sitting therein. When Gathelus observed the people so much to increase, that the country was too little for them, resolving to maintain the league inviolate with Spain, he thought of transplanting some of them; and understanding there was an island north of Spain meanly inhabited, he sent his two sons, Hyberus and Himericus, with a great navy and strong army, who landed at Dundalk in that country, and called it Hibernia from the eldest son's name, now Ireland. Being arrived, they found the inhabitants to be few and simple, living only on milk, herbs, and other fruits, growing naturally; hereupon they treated them gently, and easily persuaded them to submit and join in friendship.

Hyberus having taught them tillage and other good husbandry, returned into Spain, and succeeded his father Gathelus, subduing more of that country, the succession continuing in his posterity a long while after. Himericus was left by his brother to govern Ireland, ruling both the Scotch and Irish; but in time great differences arose, and much blood was shed, till at length, by assistance from Spain, the Irish were subdued, and the Scots settled there, who crowned one Brechus, of the blood royal, for their King, being the first that reigned over Scotchmen in Ireland. To him succeeded others, and at length one Rothsay, who observing Ireland to be too narrow for them, he transported a great number into the isles, formerly called Hebrides, now the Western Isles, and gave his name to that island which he first possessed. From these isles they went at length over into the main land, on the north of Albion, now

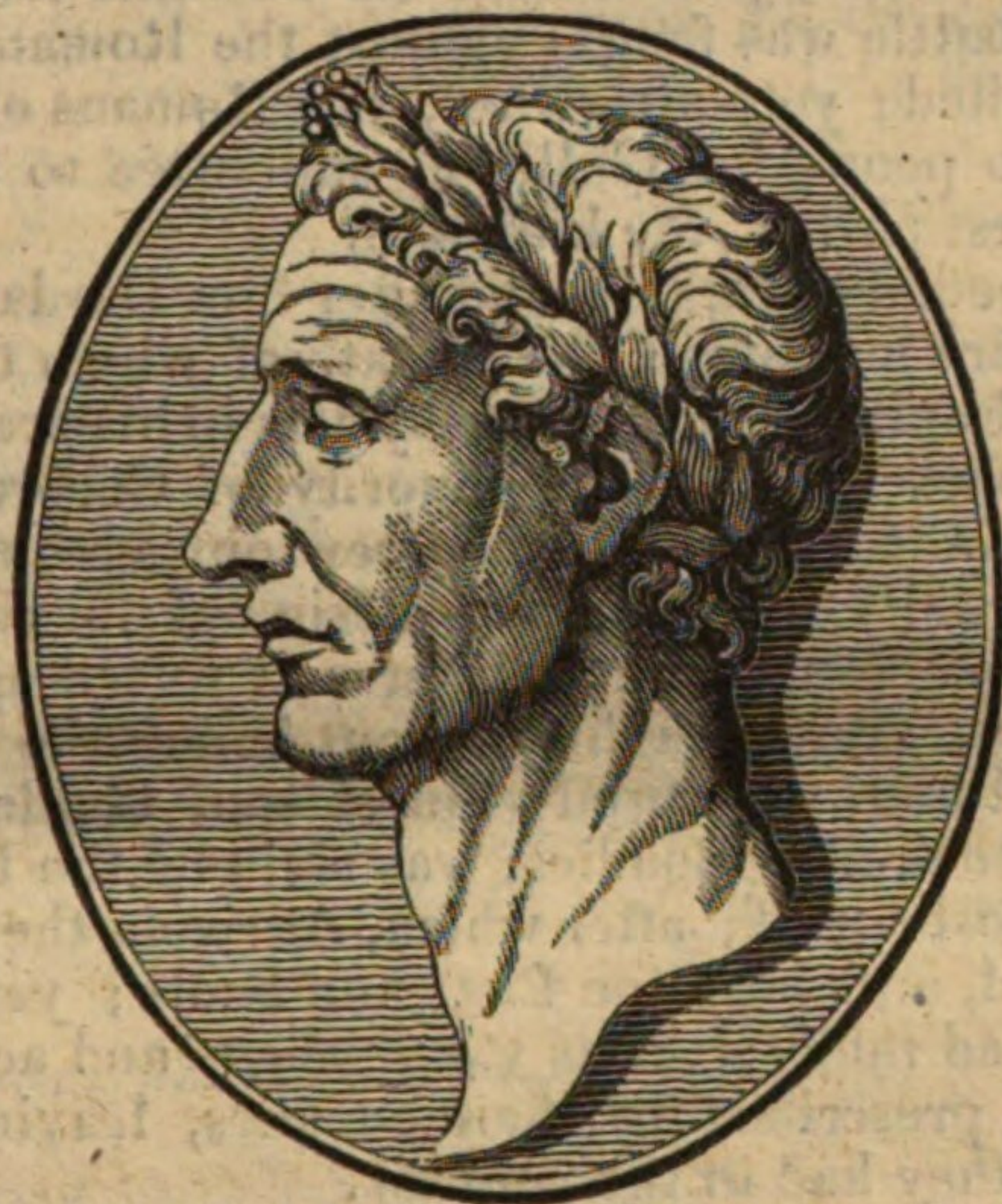
England, settling first in Argyle, and from thence spreading over all that country, which they then named Scotland; where they continued many years in great glory, living under good laws and governors.

At length, the Picts, a people of Germany, (others say of Sythia,) so called from painting themselves, or else from their coloured garments, landed in Scotland, and in short time got strong footing therein, building divers forts and castles, and forcing the Scots to let them have women for procreation: upon which, a league was made with them, the land being divided betwixt them, and it was agreed, that if at any time the succession in the kingdom of the Picts were doubtful, then one born of a Scottish woman should be admitted to the throne. This alliance was disliked by the Britains, fearing they might be too strong with this conjunction, and therefore they privately endeavoured to foment differences between them, persuading the Picts to join with them, as being more civilized, and a better country, enforcing it with an old prophecy, "that the Scots should one day traitorously destroy the whole race of the Picts out of their country;" whereby they so prevailed, that the Picts joined with the Britains against the Scots: but, upon the point of battle, the Pictish women came into the army with their children, and with cries and lamentations declared their grief, persuading them not to defile themselves with unnatural murder, since they were resolved to die with their children, rather than their husbands, fathers, brethren, and kindred should thus destroy each other.

The nobles and commanders considering the reasonableness of their complaints, presently made an agreement with Fergus, King of Scots, and turn their joint forces on the Britains, slaughtering Coilus, the British King, with his whole army; and entering into a league, offensive and defensive, they miserably tormented the poor Britains on all sides for many years, till they were vanquished and beaten back by the conquering Saxons.

After the death of Fergus, several Pictish and Scottish Kings reigned in that country, and among them, Ederus, in whose fourth year, Julius Cæsar invaded Britain; upon which, Cassibilane, then King, sent for aid from the Scots and Picts, and were promised it from both; but Cæsar having soon after vanquished the Britains, sent to the Scots to submit, who answered, "That they were resolved rather to lose their lives than liberties, as, if there were occasion, he should experience." Ewyn, the son of Ederus, succeeded him, who wholly gave up himself to debauchery and lasciviousness;

wherein he took so great delight, that he made divers immodest and filthy laws to encourage his subjects therein, as, "That they might marry as many wives as they could maintain; four, six, or ten; or



JULIUS CÆSAR.

as many as they pleased. That poor men's wives ought to be common to the lords of manors, who likewise had the privilege to have the maidenhead of every bride on the wedding night." Which last statute was so pleasing to the lustful nobility, that it continued many hundred years after, though the former were soon abolished by succeeding Kings.

Ewin spending all his time among harlots, and abusing his nobles, by imprisoning some and murdering others, thereby the more freely to enjoy their wives and daughters, they thereupon began to detest and abhor his conditions; and conspiring against him, raised an army, encountered him in the field, and took him prisoner; his friends and partakers not offering to strike one stroke in his defence. They then committed him to perpetual imprisonment; but the same night he was strangled in his chamber, and Metellanus, the brother of Ederus, succeeded; in whose reign, our Saviour,

Jesus Christ, was born. After this, Claudius, the Roman Emperor, came into Britain, and sailing to the Isles of Orkney, took the King thereof prisoner; whereupon, Caratake, then King of Scots, and the King of the Picts, joined with the Britains for their common defence, and a battle was fought against the Romans, wherein neither side prevailed; yet, afterward, the Romans obtained a great victory, and the people of Galloway submitted to them; and soon after, the greatest part of the kingdom.

Corbred succeeded Caratake, and after him Dardan, for the greatness of his stature surnamed the Great, of whom the nobility had conceived a good opinion for his worthy acts in his predecessor's days, and therefore chose him in the minority of Corbred's three sons; but having attained the crown he grew outrageous in lust, covetousness, and cruelty, and likewise designed to cut off the three young princes; whereupon a rebellion was raised against him, and having taken him, they brought him out before the multitude, and openly beheaded him. Corbred's eldest son, Galde, reigned next, in whose time the famous Boadicia was slain by the Romans, and all her Britains almost cut off; after which, Agricola the Roman general invaded Scotland, and beat the Picts and Scots; yet at length the Romans submitted themselves as vanquished, and accepted the conditions of peace prescribed by their enemies, leaving all the garisons and forts they had in the country.

After thirty-five years' reign Lugtak succeeded Galde his father; he was abhorred of all men for his detestable cruelty and lust, ravishing not only his aunt, niece, and sister, but his own daughter; so that after two years, intending to put to death those whom in an assembly at Dunstafage blamed his misgovernment, he was there murdered among the people, with abundance of his partakers. Mogal, the nephew of Galde, succeeded, who was at first well beloved of his subjects, and obtained many notable victories against the Romans, who again invaded the country; upon which he grew so proud, that he fell into the same sensualities as his predecessors, and understanding there was a conspiracy against him, he fled into a wood at midnight with only two servants, of which the conspirators having notice the next morning, they pursued him with great fury, and seizing him, cut off his head, which they set upon a pole, and carried about in derision.

Conarus, his son, ascended the throne, who was thought to have been in the treason against his father, and coming to the crown by wicked means, it could not be expected he should rule well, for he

soon discovered his debauched humour, wherein he used such excess that it brought him into great necessity; whereupon calling an assembly of his Lords, he demanded a subsidy, alleging, that the rents of the crown were not sufficient to maintain his royal dignity, and therefore required contribution from his subjects. The nobles were startled at his demand, resolving to deny him, and therefore the next morning, when they were again set in the council chamber, one of them spake to this purpose: "That since he had no wars wherewith to spend his treasure, it might seem strange why he should demand a tax to maintain his household; but that it might not indeed be much wondered at, since he preferred only mean persons, who studied always to oppress his subjects, and enrich themselves;" "but," saith he, "this shall be amended ere long, and they shall be advanced yet higher, even to a fair pair of gallows, and end their lives with shame, as many others have done before them, who have thus ruined the people; neither is it fit that a person who so little understands his office, should any longer be King over us, who ought rather to be confined to a chamber, and some worthy person by common consent chosen to govern the kingdom." The King at this insolent speech started up, and loudly called them traitors, adding, "that if they durst meddle with his person they should dearly repent it." Notwithstanding which the conspirators seized him, and committed him prisoner, executing several of his officers and ministers, and choosing Argadus, one of their number, governor of the realm, during the life of Conarus, which continued eight years after.

Ethodius, nephew to King Mogal, succeeded, who, together with the Picts, made sharp war upon the Britains, ravaging Westmorland and Kendal with fire and sword; at length being at rest, he much delighted in hunting and music, and was especially taken with one musician, born in the Western Isles, by whom, after he had reigned thirty-four years, he was murdered one night in his own chamber, the murderer alleging he did this wicked act in revenge for some of his friends and kinsmen, whom the King had caused to be executed in Argyle; that he had designed it long before, and was now ready to receive whatsoever torment they would adjudge him to; "for sure I am," saith he, "that how terrible soever my execution be, yet I shall feel no pain, but rejoice even in the very midst of my tortures, since I have so notably and fully revenged the death of my friends." Upon this he was ordered to be drawn in pieces with wild horses in a most violent manner. Satrahel, the

brother of Ethodius, succeeded, though he left a son behind him whom Satrahel would have put to death, with many more of his wealthy subjects, thereby to enjoy their estates, which caused much mischief in the kingdom; but before he had reigned four years, he was strangled by his own servants; to whom Donald, his brother, was successor, who reigned virtuously, was beloved of his subjects, and died peaceably, after twenty-one years governing the kingdom.

Ethodius, the second son of Ethodius, reigned after him, who was so very foolish and weak, that the government was committed to divers noblemen, yet was he extreme covetous, and was slain by his guard in his sixteenth year. Then his son Athirco was advanced to the crown, who slighting his nobility, and ravishing two daughters of Natholicus, a nobleman of Argyle, he with the rest conspired against him, who suspecting those about him, fled privately to the sea-side, and went into a boat designing to pass into the Isles, but being driven back by contrary winds, he chose rather to kill himself than fall into the hands of his enemies; after whose death Natholicus prevailed so with the people, that he was proclaimed King, and the line of Athirco laid aside, though he had three sons, and a brother called Dorus, who escaped into Pictland in a beggar's habit; to settle himself, he was very kind to the lords and people, endeavouring to appease all quarrels and discontents: but Dorus after a while sending letters by a Pictish woman to some Scottish Lords of the welfare of himself and his nephews, she was surprised by Natholicus, and being put in a sack was thrown into the sea, which act being declared abroad, they and their associates procured the people to rebel, of which Natholicus being informed, he privately retired into Murrayland, and sent a trusty servant to a witch at Colmkill to know the fortune of this war, who answered, "That the king should in a little time be murdered, not by his open enemies, but by the hands of his familiar friends, in whom he put much trust." The messenger earnestly enquired by whose hands? "Even by thine," saith she, "as it will plainly appear in a few days." The gentleman called her old witch, saying, that he hoped to see her burnt before he should commit so villainous a deed, and made haste to tell the King; but as he went, he began to consider, that if he should declare the truth, the King might be suspicious of him, and put him to death; if he kept it secret, some other might reveal it, and he be thereby endangered: therefore, to make all sure, coming to the King, he was by him led into a private room, and all others being withdrawn, he suddenly struck the King to the heart with his

dagger, and killed him. His death being known to the nobles, they resolved to send for the sons of Athirco, and employed this person to fetch them; who being come, Finloch, the eldest, was crowned King, who reigned very justly and happily for ten years, but then going to suppress the rebellion of Donald of the Isles, he was treacherously murdered by two villains employed by him; to whom succeeded his younger brother Donald, who was resolved to be revenged of the traitor; but he suddenly setting upon the King, slew him and above three thousand more, and having got so great victory he took upon him to be King, by the name of Donald of the Isles; but being conscious of his usurpation, he never went abroad without a guard, yet was killed one night by Cratchlint, the son of King Findock, who succeeded him, after whom reigned Fingomarc, his brother's son; then Romacus, and Angusianus, who was slain in battle by the Picts: after him Fethelmacus, his cousin, who was killed by two Pictish traitors as he lay sleeping; who being taken, were torn asunder with wild horses. Eugenius, his son, came next to the crown, who was killed in a fight with the Romans, in conjunction with the Picts and Britains, who resolved to root out the Scottish nation, and made a law that they should resign all their lands to the Britains and Picts, and forsake the country; and accordingly the Scots were banished their native land, many of them going into Ireland and other countries: and to preserve peace between the Picts and Britains, the Romans built a great wall from the east sea to the west, with a strict order, that if any Pict should pass that wall into Britain without leave, he should certainly die. Hitherto we have followed the Scottish historians, though it is questioned whether there were such a succession of Kings as we have mentioned: what follows is allowed to be of more certainty and authority, and therefore we shall be more particular in the reigns of the succeeding Kings

I. It is generally believed that in the year of our Lord 424, the Scots coming in great numbers out of Ireland, settled themselves in Scotland, under Fergusius, their King, who was crowned in the marble chair at Argyle; and the Picts having broken their league with the Romans, they joined with the Scots against them, between whom a very great battle was fought, so that the river Carron was filled with dead bodies, and the water looked like blood; but while the victory remained doubtful, there fell so sudden and violent a storm of hail and rain, that they could not see each other, but were forced to part; and having lost so many on each side, the Romans,

under Victorinus, their general, marched back into Britain, and the Scots and Picts broke up their camp; after which they again assemble to hinder the Britains from building the wall, falling upon them, and killing the labourers and soldiers; yea, entering into the British borders, fetched thence great spoils of goods and cattle: but the Romans resolving to defend their confederates, fought a terrible battle under Maximin, wherein the Pictish King, and Fergus, King of Scotland, were both slain. This overthrow much dismayed the Scots, fearing they should be now utterly expelled their country, for the Romans pursued their victory with great destruction, and Maximin was counselled to have rooted out both nations; but being satisfied with his success, he retired to York, where hearing of the disturbances at Rome, he resolved to usurp the crown of Britain, and in order thereto he married one of the daughters of Dionethus, a Prince of Wales.

II. In the mean time the Scottish Lords made Eugenius II. of that name, son of Fergus, King, and Maximin to establish himself; was content to make peace with him; which having done, he next designed no less than the government of the whole Roman empire; and taking all the British youth with him, he sailed into France, causing himself to be proclaimed Emperor, leaving behind Dionethus, his father, and only one Roman legion of soldiers, who continued not long ere they were sent for by Etius, Lieutenant to the Emperor Valentinian, whom they instantly obeyed, though they had sworn allegiance just before to Maximin. The Britains being thus deprived of forces for defending themselves, the Scots and Picts took occasion to fall upon them with fire and sword, first retaking all places in their own country which had been garrisoned by the Romans, and then entering Cumberland, destroyed most part of Yorkshire. In this distress the Britains sending to Valentinian for aid, he ordered Gallio to assist them, who pursued their enemies, and repaired the wall, which was eight feet broad, and twelve feet high, with towers in divers places, giving directions to the Britains how to defend themselves, and then returned into France. Gallio was no sooner gone, but the Picts and other people resolved again to invade the Britains, and persuaded Eugenius with his Scots to join with them; and so entering Britain, they soon overthrew the wall, and in multitudes entered, beating down the Britains without resistance, who again apply themselves to the Roman Lieutenant in Gallia, but were answered, "That they must make the best defence they could, for he had no forces to spare;" so that their

enemies miserably over-run their country as far as the river Humber : in this their woeful distress they sent the following letters :—

To Etius, thrice Consul, the Roman Lieutenant in Gallia; the lamentable complaint of the Britains.

“ When first our ancestors became subjects to the Romans, they judged the Senate of Rome by their worthy acts and glorious achievements, to have been a safe refuge and support to all who submitted to them ; but we their posterity, by the pernicious designs of the tyrant Maximin, have been deprived of all means for our safety and resistance, whereby we are in great danger of losing both our kingdom and our lives, by the terrible invasions of our most cruel enemies the Scots and Picts. In this our deplorable condition we humbly applied ourselves to the Roman empire for succour, with assured confidence of relief, according as our faithfulness and loyalty hath deserved ; notwithstanding which, we find ourselves utterly neglected and disregarded, so that we are delivered up as a prey to those barbarous nations to be ruined, destroyed, and murdered at their pleasure, whereby it is evident, either that the Romans have lost their former virtue and gallantry, or else that their most large empire is by the wrath of Heaven given up to be over-run by a foreign people. But if it be now the fatal time wherein the kingdom of Britain is irrecoverably to be taken from the Romans, and brought under the subjections of some barbarous nation, we declare that we neither abhor nor refuse the government of any, the Scots and Picts, the most cruel of all others, only excepted ; of whose unmercifulness we have long since tasted, and by their renewed strength, after the loss of our goods, and our walls being destroyed, we know not how to secure our lives ; for now they violently rush in upon us, they destroy our fields, burn our houses, towns and villages, beat down and raze to the ground our castles and towers ; their bloody swords spare neither innocent children, women, nor impotent old age, besides vast numbers of men whom they have slain fighting in their own defence ; and for the poor remainder of our nation, they are driven to the sea, and because they can get no passage over, are again forced back upon their adversaries, so that we are hereby doubly destroyed, being either drowned by the raging floods, or else murdered by our bloody enemies : therefore if the honour of the Roman empire, if our

fidelity thereto for above five hundred years have any power to move you to consider our miseries, we humbly pray and beseech you to send us convenient succours, lest we should seem to be more cruelly betrayed by the Romans than abused by our barbarous neighbours, and all people may be thereby deterred from putting any trust or confidence in the protection or friendship of the Romans."

Etius returned answer, that the calamities of the Britains did very much disturb him, but that the present invasions made upon the empire by several nations did at present hinder him for sending them any relief, but he advised them they should make the best resistance they could, and when the empire was settled they should be fully revenged of all the injuries they had received. At the same time the Britains having sent ambassadors to the Scots to treat of peace, they returned with this answer, "That unless the Britains wholly submitted themselves, and became their subjects, they would make no peace;" which the Britains took in such indignation that they mustered up all the forces possible, and met the Scots in the field, but were beaten with the loss of fifteen thousand, and four thousand Scots and Picts; after which they were forced to sue again for peace, which was granted upon these hard conditions: That the Britains should upon no account receive any aid from Rome, nor suffer any enemy of the Scots or Picts to pass through their country; that they should enter into no league with any city or nation without their consent, and should be ready to assist the Scots upon all occasions; that all Britain, as far as Hull or Humber, should be resigned wholly to the Scots; that as a trophy of conquest they should pay the Scots sixty thousand pounds; and lastly, that they should deliver an hundred hostages for performing these conditions, which articles being so very severe, were kept no longer than till the Britains had an opportunity to break them, and that was soon after; for Eugenius having reigned thirty years, and much enlarged the Scottish dominions, died;

III. To whom Dongard, his brother, succeeded in 470, who followed his brother's example, in preserving justice and peace among his subjects, in whose reign the Britains being weary of their servitude, by the persuasion of Conan, resolved to free themselves, and sent into Armorica, now Brittany, in France, for aid, which Androneus, King thereof, soon agreed to, sending his son Constantine with considerable forces, who landing at Totnes, in Devonshire, he was received with great joy, and proclaimed King of Britain, whereupon he assured them he would to the uttermost of

his power endeavour to regain their freedoms; whereby they were so encouraged that they quickly assembled all able to bear arms, wherewith they marched against the Picts and Scots, and a bloody battle was fought, sixteen thousand Britains being killed, and thirteen thousand Scots, with Dongard, who was slain by Constantine, fighting valiantly in the midst of his troops; upon which the English marched southward, and the Scots homeward, with their dead king, in the year 465.

IV. Constantine, another brother of Eugenius, was crowned King after him, a prince altogether unlike his two predecessors, giving himself up to lust and wantonness, deflowering virgins, and ravishing wives, a great favourer of backbiters and slanderers, and never pleased nor merry but in the company of buffoons and jesters; and though of the same name with the British King, yet of very different qualities, the one studying to promote the good and advantage of his people, the other minding nothing but lasciviousness and sensuality. He granted peace to the Britains without their asking it, releasing not only the tribute, but secretly delivering up divers castles upon the river Humber into their hands: these, with several other things which he acted to the prejudice of the realm, enraged the nobility and people against him, so that they resolved to make an insurrection, but by the persuasion of Dongall, a discreet nobleman of Galloway, who declared the great inconveniences which would unavoidably follow, they were persuaded to suffer patiently his disorderly government. The Picts observing the ill conduct of the Scotch King, were afraid that if the King of Britain should endeavour to revenge the injuries he had received from them, they were not able to resist him singly, and were like to have small assistance from the Scots: they therefore sent three British villains into Britain, who treacherously slew that King; but being taken, they were cast into a mighty fire, and burned to ashes. Neither did Constantine of Scotland long survive him; for having ravished the daughter of a nobleman of the Isles, he was by him murdered, after he had reigned infamously seventeen years, in 481.

V. After him Dongal, or Congal, his nephew, son of his brother Dongald, was proclaimed King, who endeavoured to reform the abuses in the commonwealth. In his time Constantinus, the eldest son of Constantine, was taken out of an abbey, wherein he was a monk, and advanced to the kingdom of Britain, whereby being unfit to govern, the ordering of all things was committed to Vortigern, who thereupon renewed the league with the Picts and Scots,

choosing a guard to the King's person out of them, but soon after he procured Constantius to be murdered by some of them, and then put them all to death, as well the innocent as guilty, at which the Scotch and Pictish Kings were so enraged that they made several inroads upon the British borders; upon which Vortigern raised a very great army, who were commanded by Gitellus, Prince of Wales, wherewith he took five hundred of these borderers, and immediately hanged them up. The Scots and Picts soon after marched toward them with strong forces, where a great battle was fought, wherein there were slain of the Britains, (saith the Scotch historian,) twenty thousand, and of the Scotch four thousand. This great loss much discouraged the Britains, so that Vortigern being afraid of the people, designed to have left the kingdom.

But upon consultation with some British Lords, it was concluded to send for succour from Germany, which was done accordingly, and Hengist and Horsus, two Saxon Princes, came over with ten thousand soldiers, and were received joyfully by Vortigern and the Britains; they were no sooner refreshed but they fell upon the Scots before they knew of their arrival, wherewith being much amazed, a multitude of them were slain. Divers other victories they obtained for the Britains, and great numbers of Saxons daily arriving, the Britains began to suspect they designed upon their liberties, which happened accordingly; for, after a while, Hengist having notice that Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon, the sons of Constantine, designed to bring abundance of Britains and French from Brittany to claim the crown as lawfully descended from their father, he, with the assistance of Vortigern, endeavoured what he could to hinder them, and getting possession of York, caused divers of the nobles and gentry to be slain, under pretence they would have betrayed several forts and castles to the Scots, which he then got into his own hands. The Britains, to prevent these growing mischiefs, deposed Vortigern, and placed his son Vortimer in his stead, and then sent ambassadors to the Scots and Picts, requiring their assistance against the cruel oppressions of the Saxons, who by several indirect ways endeavoured not only to usurp the government of the kingdom and enslave them, but likewise utterly to extinguish and subvert the faith and doctrine of Christ among them; they therefore earnestly desired their aid against these their common enemies, who were called into the realm, not with the public consent of the nobility and people, but by the private contrivance of Vortigern, to suppress not only the Scots and Picts, but the Britains themselves,

whom by his tyranny he was conscious he had given cause to defend themselves against him.

Dongal King of Scots having heard their message, replied, "That he was very sorry to understand into what danger the miserable Christians of Britain were fallen, and therefore if he had no other motive to join with them against the Saxons, yet the delivering that island from such a paganish generation was to him a sufficient cause, who not only used the heathenish rites and ceremonies of their false religion by sacrificing to their hellish gods, even in the presence, and to the great horror and offence of the Christians, but likewise sought by all means possible to destroy and root out the faith of our blessed Saviour Christ in all places where they had power;" he therefore promised his uttermost assistance for driving them not only out of the frontiers of his dominions, but the whole kingdom of Britain. The same answer the ambassadors received of the King of Picts; and accordingly sending a great army into Northumberland, they obtained a great victory against the Saxons, commanded by Occa, the son of Hengist; and Vortimer at the same time vanquished them in Kent, so that they all soon fled out of the country back into Saxony.

King Vortimer a while after was poisoned by the treachery of his step-mother Roxana, and Vortigern again re-enthroned, upon taking a solemn oath never to assist the Saxons, nor receive any foreign nation into the kingdom. He then administered justice to his subjects, whereby he was exceedingly beloved, and renewed the league with the Scots and Picts: notwithstanding which, Hengist again returned, and by force or policy, possessed himself of most part of the land, so that the greatest number of the Britains were forced to retire into Wales, together with King Vortigern, where they remained till Aurelius Ambrosius and Uter arrived from Britanny in France, who besieging him in a castle, at length burnt it, with the King and his Queen Roxana together, according as (they say) Merlin, the soothsayer, had prophesied, who was supposed to have been begotten by an evil spirit called an Incubus, that in the shape of men, was thought to accompany with women.

In this place, Hector Boetius relates some strange illusions of spirits, which happened, and may not be unworthy the remembering. A Scottish ship departing out of the Forth in that country, about midsummer, toward Flanders, there suddenly arose so extraordinary a tempest as astonished the mariners, being so unusual about that time of the year. The storm still increasing, so that all the passen-

gers despaired of safety, a woman in the hold of the ship called earnestly to the seamen, beseeching them to throw her into the sea, whereby she assured them they should be all secured from danger; adding, that she had been a long time conversant with an unclean spirit, which haunted her in the shape of a man, and was at that very instant using his filthy pleasure with her after the manner of men. There happened to be a priest in the same ship, who going down to her, and finding her a very wretched and desperate person, and woefully lamenting her miserable condition, he gave her such wholesome counsels and useful admonitions, by advising her to a sincere repentance, that she at length seemed thoroughly penitent for her grievous wickedness and offences; upon which, there immediately issued out of the pump of the ship, a black stinking cloud, that, with a terrible noise, smoke, and flame, presently fell into the sea: after which, the tempest suddenly ceased, and the ship arrived in safety to her intended haven.

The same author adds, that about this time a young man living at Gareoth, a village near Aberdeen in Scotland, being a very handsome complete person, made complaint to the bishop of the diocese, that a spirit haunted him in the shape of a woman, so extreme handsome and beautiful as he never saw the like; who would in the night come into his chamber, and use many pleasant enticements to allure him to enjoy her; and that he could not be freed from her by any means. The bishop discreetly advised him to remove to some other country, and apply himself to fasting and prayer; which he performing, accordingly was in a few days delivered from any further disquiet or temptation.

He likewise adds this third relation, that in the country of Mar, a young gentlewoman of excellent beauty, daughter of a nobleman, having refused divers wealthy matches, she at length proved with child, and being severely charged by her parents to discover the father, she confessed, that a young man came to her and kept her company every night, and sometimes in the day; but whence he came, or how he went away, she knew not. Her parents giving no great credit to her words, kept very strict watch to find out who had dishonoured their family. About three days after, one of her maids giving notice that the fornicator was at that instant with her, they thereupon entered the chamber with a great many torches, and shutting the doors, find their daughter in the arms of a most foul and deformed monster, very terrible to behold. Among others, a priest was there of an honest conversation, who, when all others

were afrighted, boldly approached, and began to recite the beginning of St. John's Gospel; and coming to these words, "Verbum caro factum est," "The word was made flesh," the evil spirit fled, with a dreadful roaring noise, taking the roof of the chamber with him, and burning the hangings and covering of the bed; yet was the gentlewoman safely preserved, who, within three or four days was delivered of a horrid and mis-shapen birth, which the women, to prevent shame to the house, seized and burnt to ashes. Thus much out of Hector Boetius, who hath writ these and divers other credible relations, as he affirms, to prove that all which hath been told concerning these illusions of devils and demons, is not false or feigned; the credit whereof we must leave as we find them.

But to return to our history, Aurelius Ambrosius having dispatched Vortigern, resolved to try his fortune against Hengist and the Saxons, and to restore the Christian religion; to which purpose he concluded a firm league with the Picts and Scots, who, joining their forces, obtained a very great victory against them, Hengist himself being slain by Aurelius, as the Scottish historians relate, who afterward married the daughter of the Pictish King. The Britains being thus delivered from the tyranny of the Saxons, enjoyed peace some years after; and discovering some Saxon priests who pretended to be Christians, yet sacrificed to their idol gods, they were condemned and burnt, according to a law then in being. At this time, Dongal, King of Scots, died, after he had reigned twenty years in great glory, in 501.

VI. Conranus, his brother, succeeded him, who was a very just prince, being himself present in courts of justice to hear causes, or else hunting in some forest near where his judges sate. In his reign Occa and Pascentius, the sons of Hengist, hearing of their father's death, came again into Britain with a strong army, at which time Aurelius preparing to resist them with the assistance of the Scots, died of a consumption, and his brother Uter succeeded him, who falling in love with the wife of Gothlois, Duke of Cornwall, he not only forced her to his pleasure, but to enjoy her more freely, pursued her husband to destroy him, and at length taking him in a castle whither he was fled, he caused him to be executed, under pretence that he had forsaken his captain in a fight with the Saxons: of this lady Uter begot Arthur, who was so famous a warrior, whom, because he had no legitimate son, he ordained should succeed him in the kingdom; whereat Loth, the Pictish King, who was right heir after Uter to Britain, was so displeased, that he

joined with the Saxons against them, and a great battle was fought, wherein the Britains obtained a glorious victory by the help of St. Germain, the holy Bishop of Auxerre, as the Scottish writers relate after this manner.

About Easter both armies came into the field, the Saxons and Picts on one side, and the Britains on the other, many of whom were grown idolaters by conversing with the Saxons; which St. Germain understanding, preached so effectually to them in the camp, that they were again reduced to Christianity, and received the sacrament from him in company of the other faithful Christians: when both sides were ready to engage, St. Germain, with all his priests and clergy, marched in the front before the British army, giving strict command that when he and his should cry Hallelujah, the whole host should answer them with one voice. He then proceeded on, carrying the King's standard before him, and upon the approach of the enemy, he with the priests cried thrice with a loud voice altogether Hallelujah, which being loudly repeated in the same manner by the whole army at once, made such a tremendous echo in the adjoining hollow caves and mountains, that the Saxons, amazed at this redoubled noise, and suspecting that another great body of their enemies lay in ambush on the hills on each side of them, yea, doubting that the very mountains and hills, yea, heaven itself would fall on their heads, they were struck with so dreadful a consternation, that they immediately betook themselves to flight with so great haste and terror, that abundance of them were drowned in the adjacent river, and the rest dispersed themselves over the country, throwing away their weapons to expedite their escape. Thus by this christian policy (saith my author) this holy man procured a bloodless conquest to Uter and his Britains.

But it seems they thereupon grew proud, debauched, and careless of their future defence, falling into all kind of luxury and gluttony, which abuses of divine goodness were much lamented by the good men of those days, denouncing the wrath of heaven against them if they did not reform their ways; which in a short time came to pass accordingly, for Occa again made head against them, and gave them a notable overthrow, wherein above fifteen thousand Britains were slain, though the Saxons likewise lost their King Occa; however, they chose another Occa, nephew to the former, for their King, who turned all his forces upon Loth, King of the Picts, since, contrary to his oath, he had assisted the Britains in the last battle, and falling upon a company of Scots and Picts, cut them off with a

cruel slaughter; of which, news being brought to Conranus and Loth, they assembled their forces, and marched towards their enemies; but being ready to give battle, they were so struck with fear of encountering such an army of fierce people, that the King perceiving it, ordered one to make an oration for their encouragement, which he did to this purpose.

“I cannot but marvel, dear countrymen and friends, to observe such terror and affrightment in all your countenances, because I do not imagine what the reason thereof should be, that such a number of able warriors, so well armed and provided, and withal commanded by such valiant and courageous captains and leaders, as there is not the least occasion to doubt of victory and success, should be thus strangely terrified. As for the Saxons, they are no such mighty and invincible champions, but that they may now be overcome, as well as heretofore: hath not Vortimer, the British King, (and likewise Aurelius Ambrosius) vanquished them so severely, that afterward they durst never encounter him in the field, but treacherously procured his death by poison? Then, since the Britains, whom the Scots and Picts have so often subdued, have been thus victorious against them, why should you dread to fight them for the common defence of your country, and to revenge those wrongs and injuries you have so lately received from them? Especially considering that the righteous God (as all good men believe) is ever ready to advance and assist a righteous cause. And whereas it hath been told you that the Saxons are such huge and giant-like combatants, assure yourselves the Scots and Picts are as strong and mighty as they, so that you have no cause to complain of nature, but of your own faint hearts and want of true courage, if you do not equal, yea, surmount them in all warlike actions.”

These with many other arguments were used to put life and spirits into the trembling Scots and Picts, which seemed to have the desired effect; so that they generally declared themselves ready to die at the feet of their captains, and to follow their Kings whither soever they would lead them; who being herewith satisfied, marched toward their enemies, whom they found ready to receive them, and that with such rage and violence, that after a huge slaughter on each side the Scots and Picts were utterly routed and pursued by the Saxons till dark night, and destroying all they found of these people the next day: the Scotch King, with the remainder of his army, hastened to Galloway, and the Pictish to his own country; at which time Uter, King of Britain, dying, Loth, King of Picts,

sent to demand the government of the Britains, as having married the sister and heir of Aurelius and Uter; but the Britains disdain- ing his message, proclaimed Arthur, the bastard son of Uter, King, and forthwith fell upon and routed the Saxons in several battles, under his valiant conduct.

King Conranus growing old, his ministers and officers were very corrupt, and severely oppressed the people, who being thereupon discontented, and the nobility joining with them, they conspired against him and his favourites, especially one Toncet, a person of mean birth, who being made chief justice or chancellor, exercised much cruelty, especially as to life and death, taking the forfeitures of the penal statutes to fill the King's coffers, without regard to justice or right. Among other violent actions, he caused several rich merchants to be accused of treason upon very slight informations, for which they were condemned and executed without any legal proof, only for covetousness to seize their estates; which so enraged their friends, that they came into the judgment hall, and first reproached him with words, they then openly murdered him upon the seat of justice, flying presently into the mountains for safety: and to prevent punishment for one villainy, they contrived to commit a far greater, by killing the King as the original cause of these mischiefs; and Donald, governor of Athol, a man in great trust about the King, understanding their design, assured them of his utmost help and assistance: hereupon these outlaws, according to his instructions, coming secretly to the King's lodgings, were by him conveyed into his bedchamber, Donald going privately away as soon as they entered. Conranus perceiving he was betrayed, and that his enemies were ready to murder him, got out of his bed, and falling on his knees, besought them to have pity on his age, and not defile their hands in the blood of their natural lord and King, since, if they had been any way injured, it was without his knowledge; but they doubting he should make his escape, were deaf to his entreaties, and immediately barbarously murdered him, instantly betaking themselves to flight. This was the miserable end of Conranus, after twenty years reign, in 531.

VII. Eugenius, his nephew, the second son of his brother Don- gal, came next to the crown, who being placed in the marble chair at Argyle, was earnestly persuaded to avenge the blood of his uncle for terror to others who should attempt so heinous a deed against their sovereign lord and crowned King; yet, on the contrary, he not only forgave the crime, but took Donald and the other mur-

derers into his service, and made them privy-counsellors, which occasioned suspicions that he himself was privy to the murder; and it was so generally discoursed, that the widow of Conranus, with his two sons, Aidan and Reginan, doubting their safety, fled into Ireland: however, Eugenius, to get favour with the people, would in person often sit in judgment, and if he thought any wronged, ordered the cause to be heard over again; if any poor man wanted money to manage his cause, he would lend it him out of the common treasury; he ordained that no widow should be obliged to go above a mile from her own house upon any matter of controversy; robbers and thieves to be severely punished; and lastly, he took special care to maintain the league with the Picts and Britains.

King Arthur had lately concluded a peace with the Picts, but the Britains soon after desiring Arthur, that since he had no children he would name his successor in his life-time, accordingly he chose Constantine, son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall, causing him to be proclaimed heir apparent, to the great rejoicing of his subjects. Mordred, son and heir to Loth, King of the Picts, being herewith offended, as counting himself the true heir, sent to the Britains to demand his right, charging them with breach of faith and oaths, who returned answer, That Arthur their King had done nothing contrary to his oath or promise, since the league held no longer than his father's life, but according to the duty of a prince who tendered the happiness of his subjects, in providing one of their own nation to reign after him, lest it should happen, that after his decease the realm should fall into the hands of strangers, which might occasion much misery and calamity: if, therefore, the Picts loved their own safety, it would be best for them to keep themselves within their own dominions, lest by attempting against others, they should have cause to repent their rash and unadvised undertakings.

Mordred and his people being nettled with this answer, resolve upon speedy revenge, and persuaded Eugenius to join with him; and both armies being in sight of each other, the bishops of the three nations endeavoured to procure a peace, which the Britains would by no means hearken to, so that a bloody battle was fought near the Humber, wherein twenty thousand Scots and Picts, and King Mordred were slain, with thirty thousand Britains and King Arthur, the rest escaping by flight. The next day, the camp of the Britains being rifled, they found Queen Guyamor, Arthur's wife, with divers other ladies and gentlewomen, who were all made captives.

This dreadful fight so weakened the three nations, that for many years after they were not able to recover it; before which, divers prodigies appeared: grass and herbs were found spotted with blood; a calf was brought forth with two heads, an ewe yeanned a lamb both male and female, the sun at noon seemed red like blood, the sky at the same time appearing full of bright stars for two days together. In Wales, a battle was fought between a multitude of crows and magpies on one party, and ravens on the other, with very great slaughter on both sides.

After the death of Arthur, Constantine was declared King, and to prevent any other from claiming the crown, the Britains took the children of Mordred, who were brought up by Gaivolaine, a British nobleman, their grandfather, in Britain, and cruelly murdered them, running into their mother's lap, beseeching her to save their lives; by whose death the whole family of Mordred was utterly extinguished.

The Saxons having advertisement of the weak condition of the Britains, and that their valiant King Arthur was slain, landed great forces, and soon routed the Britains, driving them and their King Constantine into Wales, and recovering all the land formerly held by Hengist, which from his name was afterward called England. Some write, that Constantine having reigned some years in Wales, his wife and children died; whereupon, growing weary of the world, he forsook his kingdom and went privately into Ireland; where, applying himself to the relief of the poor, he was discovered by a monk, who persuaded him to be one of his order. That being afterwards sent by the bishop of the diocese into Scotland, to instruct the people in the Christian faith, he there suffered martyrdom, and was afterward canonized a saint; many churches in Scotland being dedicated to his memory. Eugenius, King of Scots, lived the remainder of his days in peace and quiet; and having reigned thirty-eight years, died in 569.

VIII. Congal, his brother, succeeded; a prince extremely devout, especially in worshipping the cross; which, it is said, was carried before him: and at his getting off and on his horse, he, with all his attendants, would kneel down and reverently kiss it. This cross was of silver, with a crucifix thereon, and these words engraven: "Christianorum gloria," "the glory of Christians." He commanded the cross to be set upon the tops of steeples, towers, and gates, and forbid it to be graven or painted on the ground, lest it should be trod upon. He likewise had the clergy in extreme honour; and

they, in requital, proclaimed him for a saint, so that St. Colme, an Irish monk of great sanctity, came over to see him, and to instruct the people in the Christian faith, bringing Aidan, the son of Conranus, along with him. Soon after, Congal died, and,

IX. Kynatel, his brother, was enthroned King in Argyle, to whom St. Colme went with Aidan, who was appointed by Congal to have received the government of the kingdom if he had lived; they were both received with great kindness by Kynatel, contrary to expectation, who embracing Aidan, bid him be of good comfort, for he should shortly attain to his grandfather's dominion, and have issue that should succeed him, to the great happiness of the Scottish nation. What spirit of prophecy he spoke by is uncertain, but it is most certain, that upon his death-bed he declared, his intent was to have delivered up the crown to Aidan, as his right, though he had not time to accomplish it, for he died of a fever within twenty days after his coronation, appointing Aidan to succeed him.

X. Aidan being crowned accordingly by St. Colme, or Columb, endeavoured to preserve peace, as well among his own people as his neighbours, which continued some years, till it happened that divers lords hunting together, a quarrel arose, and many of them were slain. The beginners and most guilty being sought for and arrested by the King's officers, refused to surrender themselves, beating and abusing the officers very severely, and then presently fled to Brudeus, King of Picts, of whom Aidan, according to custom, demanded them, to proceed against them according to justice: Brudeus pitying the condition of the young gentlemen, alleged several excuses on their behalf, till at length Aidan was so enraged, that he commanded a party of his people to fetch a great booty of men and cattle out of the Pictish dominions; wherewith they being provoked, acted the same thing in Galloway: at length it came to a pitched field, near Donkeld castle in Monteith, where there was great slaughter on both sides; though, in the end, the Scots got the victory; yet losing Arthurnus, the son of Aidan, they did not much rejoice therein. St. Colme hearing of this breach, came to Aidan, reproving him for the same, and at length procured an agreement between them.

At this time the Saxons having driven the Britains into Wales, divided England into seven kingdoms; whereof, Northumberland was one, governed by King Etheldred, who endeavoured by all means to raise war between the Picts and Scots, that being both weakened, he might with the more ease conquer both; wherein he

prevailed so far, that at length the Picts proclaimed war against the Scots, who, on the other side, renewed their league with the Britains, who joining their forces, obtained a great victory over the Saxons and Picts; but Aidan would not let them pursue, for fear of treachery, and therefore recalling them by the sound of trumpet, they assembled about the standard, dancing, singing, and playing on pipes and instruments, with all manner of joy; but in the midst of their triumphs, another party of Picts and Saxons appeared in battle array; wherewith they were so confounded, that Aidan, with all his rhetoric, could hardly prevail with them to fall on again. The Saxons came forward with great fury, and soon routed the Britains, which the Scots observing, fled likewise, losing many of their nobility, and King Aidan's third son, who staying to save his father out of the throng, was himself slain. Several other battles were fought with equal success, till at length Aidan obtained a very considerable victory against them, and soon after died in peace, after he had reigned thirty-seven years, in 606.

About this time, saith my author, there dwelt among the Picts, one Valdred, a Scotchman, who converted them to the faith. After his death, three parishes contended about burying his body, and that with such heat, as they were even ready to fight; but, by the advice of some discreet persons, it was ordered that they should continue in prayers all that night, and the next morning should stand to the bishop's determination: next day there were found three coffins with three bodies, decently covered with cloth, so much alike, that none could distinguish them asunder; then, by the command of the bishop, and with great joy of the people, the bodies were carried to the three several churches and there solemnly buried, where they remain to this day, saith my author, in great veneration with the common people.

XI. After King Aidan was buried in Colmkill, the nobility assembled for declaring a new King, and by the general vote, Kenneth, the son of Congal, was proclaimed and crowned according to custom; but he lived not above four months after, dying of the rheum and catarrh: he delivered the possession of the kingdom, as it were, by way of surrender, into the hands of Eugenius, son to King Aidan, with the consent of the nobility before he died, since it was known he had a right thereunto after Kenneth's decease.

XII. Eugenius, the third of that name, succeeded accordingly, of whom it is said St. Colme prophesied before his father's death, that he should reign; for when the sons of Aidan were brought be-

fore him, and the King demanded which of them should reign after him, he passed over the rest, whom he foresaw should die in the wars, and declared that Eugenius only should succeed him. About this time St. Colme died, almost wasted through age; some say he ended his life among his brethren in Colmkill, others that he died in Ireland, at a town called Dune, and that his tomb is now there in great honour; upon which this epitaph is engraven:

*Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno;
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba Pius.*

Thus translated by Ballantine:

Saint Colme, Saint Patrick, and Brigitta pure;
Those three in Dune lie in one sepulture.

Eugenius being placed on the throne, forgot not the virtuous instructions of St. Colme, given him in his youth, so that he rather studied quietly to preserve what he had, than to enlarge his dominions by encroaching wrongfully upon the possessions of others, whereby he was extremely beloved by all good men; being likewise very impartial in the execution of justice, sparing none in regard of nobility or friendship, but on the contrary, was rather more strict against the disorders of gentlemen than others; yet, none more willing and ready to advance those to honour who behaved themselves worthily. In his tenth year the Saxons vanquished Cadwallo, King of Wales, and chased him into Scotland; from whence he sailed to Brittany in France, where receiving assistance, he returned back, and slaying many thousands of his Saxon enemies, he was again restored to his kingdom. About the same time, Etheldred, King of Northumberland, was slain by the East Angles, and left seven sons behind him, who, for fear of falling into the enemy's hands, fled to Eugenius for security; likewise Ebba, his only daughter, being taken prisoner, made her escape, miraculously, in a boat in the river Humber, and getting thereinto alone, she sailed into the main ocean, as is related, and at length arrived safely at the point of land which stretcheth forth into the sea in the mouth of the Forth in Scotland; which, after her name, is called St. Ebb's head to this day; where, being received by the bishop, she entered a nunnery and was made abbess thereof.

Eugenius very kindly entertained the sons of Etheldred, though their father had been a cruel enemy to the Scots, who after they had continued a while in Scotland, by the devout exhortations and ser-

mons of the bishops and monks of those days, who continually applied themselves thereunto, they forsook their idolatry and embraced Christianity. Eugenius having reigned sixteen years in peace and honour, died in 620, leaving three sons behind him, Ferquard, Fiacre, and Donald, who were all, by their father's appointment, educated in virtue and goodness by Conon, bishop of the Isle of Man. Ferquard and Donald did not much regard his instructions, as judging them not much to agree with their birth and degree; but Fiacre heard him gladly, resolving to forsake the world and retire to a contemplative life.

XIII. Ferquard, his eldest son, succeeded, and was very quiet from any disturbance from abroad, though much discomposed with domestic troubles, occasioned by the frequent feuds and quarrels among his subjects, who, in all parts of the realm, murdered, burnt, destroyed, and robbed each other, so that there was no security either of life or estate; all which was occasioned by a false maxim which the king had entertained, that whilst they thus ruined one another, he was out of fear of their conspiring or rebellion against him, and therefore he never endeavoured to reconcile them; but at length, by this means, he was disregarded and slighted by all of them, so that without his leave or knowledge they chose arbitrators among themselves to compose their differences; which having done, they grew still more insolent toward him; for being sensible that he was not displeased at their late divisions, if at least he did not foment them, they accused him, that, among many other crimes, he was guilty of embracing the Pelagian heresy, which was very much abhorred by the people; whereupon, the nobility summoned him by an herald to appear before a council of the states by them appointed, that they might be informed whether it were true which was commonly reported of him. The King refusing to obey their summons, they immediately assembled their forces, and besieged him in the castle whither he was retired for safety; which being soon surrendered, they got him into their hands, and presently committed him close prisoner.

They then consult whether to depose or restore him again, and at last concluded to send an honourable embassage to Fiacre, his brother, into France, whither he had retired himself into a solitary place for his devotion, and to desire him to return home and take upon him the government. Fiacre, as it is reported, having notice of their coming, made fervent prayers to God, to confirm and continue him in this his contemplative life, and that he might not be

tempted out into the troubles and vexations of the world; and it happened according to his wish, for, saith my author, when the ambassadors came to the hermitage where he was, he appeared to them so loathsome and disfigured with the leprosy and filthy sores, that upon his earnest refusal to forsake his solitary life of an anchorite for the greatest preferment and kingly dignity in the world, they were soon satisfied to return with that answer, since they thought him unfit to govern because of his infirmity; and returning back to Scotland with this account, the nobility assembling together, chose four of the most ancient among them for wardens of the kingdom, to manage all as they thought fit. In the mean time, Ferquard continuing in prison and being tormented with divers pains and diseases, to be freed from his miseries, slew himself, in the thirteenth year of his reign, 632. Thus he at last took away his own life, who had been the occasion of the loss of so many others in those civil discords, which he was charged to have promoted.

XIV. After this wretched end of Ferquard the lords assembled at Argyle, and by common consent, Donald, the third son of Eugenius, was invested King, who, according to the example of his father, restored the kingdom to its former state, by reforming the misgovernment of his predecessor and advancing the good of his subjects; whereby he soon became beloved and admired of them. At this time, Cadwallo, King of the Britains, and Penda, King of those English who inhabited the country formerly called Mercia, falling upon Edwin, King of Northumberland, who had usurped the crown, deprived him of his life and kingdom; and pursuing their victory, invaded Pictland, whose people in vain sued to Donald for aid, because Brudeus, their King, had so often broken faith with him; yet, upon the death of Edwin, Donald procured Elfred, son of Etheldred, to be restored to part of his father's kingdom of Northumberland, and the other part Cadwallo made one Osrike as king and governor thereof; who marrying one of his daughters to Elfred, he at length persuaded his son-in-law to restore the Pagan, and suppress the Christian religion in all their dominions. But this apostacy was soon revenged upon them; for the Britains, Saxons, and Picts gathering a great army, entered Northumberland, and encountering Osrike and Elfred in battle, utterly routed their forces and took them prisoners; who being both put into a common prison, to prevent more severe torture which they daily expected they desperately slew each other. Oswald, his brother, succeeded Elfred, who was a very zealous Christian and an earnest enemy to his pre-

decessor; yet at last he was slain by Penda, King of Mercia, whose death Donald much lamented, being a prince he loved extremely, and did not long survive him; for in the fifteenth year of his reign, fishing in the water called Lochtay, the boat sunk under him and he was drowned. After several days, his body being found, was buried among his ancestors at Colmkill in 647.

XV. Ferquard the Second, his nephew, the son of his brother Ferquard, succeeded him, of a quick and lively spirit, but rather inclined to evil than good, especially after he came to the crown, it being said that from a liberal, modest and gentle prince, he was suddenly changed into a most insatiable and cruel monster; for before he was so charitable, that if any gentleman wanted money to redeem their lands, or to give for portions with their daughters, if he had wherewithal, they might be sure of his assistance, yea he seemed rather willing to want himself than to see others in necessity; but now he presently turned covetous, a scoffer at religion, a tormentor of his people, and insatiable in all naughtiness; that which he had formerly given to the nobility he now shamefully demanded restitution of, pretending he did but lend it them, and if any delayed repayment, he caused their estates to be confiscate, and committed them to prison, and upon very small allegations many of them were put to cruel deaths. The famous Bishops Colman and Fynnan perceiving these extravagances, sharply reprov'd him, and at last finding he did not regard their admonitions, they excommunicated him, which he so little minded, that while others were at church he went in the forests to hunt with several of his favourites, who encouraged him therein; he was likewise a great glutton and drunkard, sitting drinking till morning, and then vomiting up the debauches of the former night, which was accompanied with such filthy lasciviousness, that he ravished his own daughters; and because his Queen endeavoured to dissuade him from such abomination, he slew her with his own hands.

Continuing in this course of life for some years, divers of the nobles conspired against him, but Bishop Colman persuaded them by no means to attempt any thing against him, assuring them, as it seems, by divine inspiration, that Ferquard utterly detesting his own wickedness, should in a short time be punished by the Almighty according to his deserts, which soon after proved true, for as the King was in chase of a wolf, the beast being enraged by the hounds, flew back upon the King, and wounded him very dangerously in his side; whereupon either through the anguish or venom thereof, he

fell into a most filthy disease, for a venomous humour, with a soft consuming heat, did eat and waste his limbs, and filthy corruption issued out of his feet, legs, and privy parts, with so horrid a stink that none could come near him, which bred lice in such an abundant manner as he could by no means be freed from them. Thus he continued two years, acknowledging this to be the just punishment for his sins, of which he seemed very heartily to repent, and was released from his excommunication by Colman, and then receiving the sacrament, and putting hair and sackcloth upon his bare skin, according to the devotion of that age, he desired to be carried into the next fields, where he penitently gave up the ghost, the eighteenth year of his reign, in 664.

XVI. Maldwin, the son of Donald, next ascended the throne; he maintained peace with the Picts, Saxons, and Britains, and administered the laws justly to his people, punishing offenders, and protecting the innocent. In his reign there happened a great quarrel between the herdsmen of Argyle and Lennox, which at first was inconsiderable; but those of the Western Isles, and the people of Galloway strengthening either party, they grew very formidable. The King having intelligence hereof, marched toward them, and soon dispersed them, forgiving the common people, and executing the leaders, whereby he gained much reputation among his subjects in those parts. About this time a grievous pestilence reigned throughout the world, so that in the three years' time wherein it raged, above half mankind died; yet were the Scots free from it then, and many years after, till riot, gluttony, and all other sins provoked heaven to send it among them. Colman being then in Northumberland, and finding the English died so fast, desired leave of the King to retire to the Western Isles in Scotland, for his security, where he built a monastery, and lived the remainder of his days. He was no sooner gone, but the people of that country joining with the Picts, made several inroads into Scotland, which injuries Maldwin paid back with interest, whereby they were so enraged that they prepared to make an absolute war against the Scots: but in the mean time Maldwin was strangled in his bed in the night by his own Queen, upon jealousy of his keeping unlawful company with other women. The next day she was apprehended, together with those confederate with her, and were all burnt together upon the top of a hill, according to their just deserts. Maldwin was thus murdered in the twentieth year of his reign, 684.

XVII. Eugenius the Fourth of that name, nephew to Maldwin, being the son of his brother Dongard, was his successor, who sent ambassadors to Egfred, then King of Northumberland, to treat of peace, who pretended to be willing thereto, though he intended nothing less, and therefore consented to a truce only for eleven months, in which time he made all necessary preparations for war, which Eugenius having private notice of, provided likewise for defence, but to give no just occasion, he strictly commanded all his subjects not to attempt any thing toward the breach of the truce. In the tenth month whereof Egfred having all things in readiness, sent a party of soldiers to plunder upon the borders of Scotland, who brought thence not only a great number of cattle, but slew divers of the borderers who endeavoured to rescue their cattle. Upon this Eugenius sent ambassadors to demand satisfaction, who after long attendance could hardly procure audience, and then boldly delivering their message, received for answer a plain declaration of war, with a complaint from Egfred, "That since the truce the Scots had several times fetched booty out of the confines of his dominions, and had deserved to suffer much more damage than they had yet received; that he therefore resolved not to maintain friendship with those who knew not how to keep their hands from robbing and stealing from their neighbours: he therefore bid them tell their King, that within eight days after he should expect open wars both from him and all his allies and confederates.

Eugenius having received this answer, desired of God, that since Egbert only sought to violate the peace, divine vengeance might fall upon his head, who was the alone occasion of the breach thereof; and mustering his forces, he marched into Galloway, whither a great army of the English were already come, and had besieged a strong castle, but were forced to raise the siege to meet Eugenius, where a furious battle was fought, till at length Egfred being wounded in the face with an arrow, fell down dead, whereat the English were so discouraged that they fled, and endeavouring to pass the river near the camp, abundance were destroyed: the Scots reckon twenty thousand Saxons and English were slain with their King, and about four thousand Scots; by this overthrow the Saxons and English in Northumberland were very much weakened, of which Brudeus King of Picts taking the advantage, invaded them with all the power he could raise, killing, burning, and plundering all before him, and had certainly wholly subdued that country, had it not been

(saith my author) for the prayers of St. Cuthbert, which preserved the people from desolation: but there was another strong reason, namely, their own divisions, for after having for some time ravaged the country, they quarrelled about dividing the spoil, and that with such rage that they made a huge slaughter of each other; soon after which Eugenius died in the fourth year of his reign, 688.

XVIII. Eugenius the Fifth, the son of Ferquard, was next invested in the kingdom, who, by the persuasion of Bishop Adnian, with whom he was educated, and St. Cuthbert, entered into a league with the people of Northumberland, but would by no means be persuaded to conclude peace with the Picts, agreeing only to a truce, which when he found they so often broke to the great damage of his subjects, he proclaimed war against them, and sent a herald to bid them defiance; yet by the continual intercession of those bishops, the war continued without any notable encounter, or the loss of much blood during all the reign of Eugenius, which was only ten years, he dying in 698; in which year the Scotch chronicles relate divers wonderful accidents happened: as, that in the river Humber there appeared a great army of men, and navy of ships, ready provided for battle; in the church of Camelon, a noise was heard like the clattering of armour; milk was turned into blood in divers places of Pictland, and cheese converted into a mass or cake of blood; corn, as it was gathered in the harvest, appeared bloody; in the farthest parts of Scotland it rained blood, which prodigious sights caused great fear and dread in the minds of the people.

XIX. Amberkeleth, the nephew, or, as some say, the son of Eugenius the Fifth, was next declared King, who, after his advancement to honours, soon changed his manners; for whereas he before seemed the only refuge of the poor and indigent, he now became the patron of all vices, delighting in nothing but luxury and debauchery, whereby the government became weak and decayed; whereupon Garnard, then King of the Picts, took this opportunity to revenge all the injuries formerly received from the Scots, and gathering strong forces, he therewith entered the Scottish borders, making woeful ruin and slaughter of the inhabitants: at length Amberkeleth, having been often blamed and reproached by his nobility for suffering these horrid abuses against his subjects, mustered up his men, though not without much dread, to appear in the head of them, whom he was conscious he had so unreasonably neglected, so that when they came into the field they little understood military discipline or order; however, he marched on, and

pitched his tents by the water of Tey, and after supper, having occasion to go forth for natural necessity, accompanied with only two of the grooms of his chamber, he was suddenly shot through the head with an arrow, whereof he immediately died; but by whom or from whence it came was never known: he reigned not quite two years, and was slain in 700.

XX. The lords and peers of the land did not much lament the death of so monstrous a person, yet for fear the army should suffer any damage, they immediately proclaimed Eugenius the Sixth, his brother, to be King, who, taking view of his forces, and perceiving them not able to engage with the enemy, found means to conclude a peace, and Spontana, the daughter of Garnard, was married to Eugenius for confirmation thereof: this poor innocent lady being great with child, was the year following murdered one night in the King's bed, instead of Eugenius himself, by two brethren of the country of Athol, in revenge of their father's death. Eugenius being suspected of this murder, and evil spoken of by his subjects, was at length forced to answer the same by way of attainder, to the great danger of his life and honour, several of the nobility being appointed as judges to hear the cause, so greatly was Spontana beloved by all the Scottish nation; but was at last found guiltless, for at the very time when judgment should have passed against the King, the murdering villains were taken, and he acquitted, to the great joy of all his loyal subjects: the murderers were condemned, and hanged naked upon gibbets by the heels, with two cruel mastiff dogs hung by the heels likewise on each side of them, to torment and devour them. Eugenius being thus cleared from any suspicion, resolved to have revenged himself upon his false accusers, but was dissuaded therefrom by Bishop Adnian. He then applied himself to the advancement of religion and just government, commanding the histories of his ancestors to be written and preserved in the abbey of Ionan, after called Colmkill; he augmented the revenues of the clergy, and concluded a league with the Saxons and Picts, which continued during his life, which ended at Abernethy, after seventeen years reign, in 717, being greatly lamented both of the lords and commons, because of his noble and princely qualities.

XXI. Mordach, his nephew, being the son of Amberkeleth, succeeded, who was of a gentle, meek, and liberal nature before his investiture, and so continued to the last; he established peace with the Pictish, British, and English Kings. In these days, saith the famous St. Bede, four several nations lived in peace and quietness

within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, laws, and ordinances; Saxons, whom he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts. Mordach repaired several churches and religious houses, ruined in the time of the wars, and not re-edified by his predecessors, and after eighteen years reign died in 734.

XXII. Ethfin, the son of Eugenius the Seventh, succeeded in the state, who was naturally inclined to peace, and the maintenance of justice; he continued the peace punctually with his neighbours, and cleared the realm of the common disturbers thereof, so that he procured both fear and love from his subjects: but in his old age he appointed four peers to have the government of the kingdom, who did not manage themselves with that uprightness which Ethfin used, conniving at the faults of their friends and favourites, and permitting the nobility to live in their former licentious course, whereby many mischiefs and oppressions were acted against the subjects; for Donald of the Western Isles, a goodly personage, but inclined to all vice, maintained a great number of thieves and robbers, who plundered and destroyed the estates of the inhabitants of Galloway; neither did the King's lieutenant, Mordach, endeavour to repress these violences, being either akin or partaker with them in their spoils, and therefore the more the people complained, the worse they were used, so that there was left no hope of redress, for Ethfin being sick and weak in his latter days, could not attend to take order in the government. After he had reigned thirty years, he died in 764.

XXIII. Eugenius, the seventh son of Mordach, was next invested King in the marble chair at Argyle, who immediately went out in pursuit of Donald of the Isles, whom at last he took, though with some loss of his people, and openly executed, with the chief of his accomplices; he likewise caused Mordach to be arraigned, who partly confessing his upholding Donald, was likewise put to death, and his goods bestowed upon the commons of Galloway, in recompense of their losses occasioned by his falsehood: the other three governors were likewise fined upon the same account, which exact justice procured him great love among his subjects, especially those of Galloway. He continued the league with the Picts, and Britains, and English, as his predecessor had done; and now, reigning in peace and quiet among his loving people, he fell into all manner of wantonness and lasciviousness, deflowering virgins, and ravishing the wives of nobles and commons; and those only who could pro-

mote his libidinous humour, were his only *privados*; to this was added, insatiate covetousness and barbarous cruelty, consenting to destroy several of his wealthy subjects, thereby to enjoy their estates: the nobility were so extremely enraged at his abominable actions, which still increased, notwithstanding all the advertisements daily given him, that they killed him one day upon the judgment-seat, just as he was about to have condemned a very rich man, though altogether innocent of the crime whereof he stood accused, and then presently apprehending several of his abettors and assistants in evil, they caused them to be hanged, to the great rejoicing of the wronged people. Such was the end of Eugenius, after he had scarce reigned three years, in 767. His body was buried with his ancestors at Colmkill, yet was by many thought unworthy of that honour after death, who had lived so profligate a life.

XXIV. Fergus the Second, the son of Ethvin, was next advanced to the throne, who seemed ambitious to exceed his predecessor in vice and enormity, not regarding the government of the realm, but devoting himself absolutely to excessive gluttony and lust, maintaining so great a number of impudent strumpets, that his queen and lawful wife was despised and disregarded as a servant, or rather a kitchen wench; who being accounted a woman of great virtue and modesty, was very much disturbed therewith, and used all kind of persuasions to reclaim him from such ill courses; but finding that she laboured in vain, since his depraved mind hurried him daily into worse crimes, she thereupon grew desperate, especially since she received continual abuses from his harlots, and therefore she secretly strangled him one night in his bed, choosing rather to be without a husband, than to have one who denied her what was her right, and on the contrary suffered his impudent paramours to affront her upon all occasions.

The day after, the King's body being found, was clothed in funeral robes, and brought into the place of judgment, strict inquisition being made for the authors of so heinous an act; for though few lamented his death, yet some of his friends were very solicitous to discover the murderers, and bring them to condign punishment; upon which divers were apprehended, and put upon the rack, yet none of them would make any confession or discovery. The queen was not in the least suspected, being always accounted a meek, temperate woman; but when she heard how many innocent persons were tormented without desert, she exceedingly lamented their

miserable condition, and coming in great haste into the judgment-hall, she got upon an high place, and made the following speech to the whole assembly.

"I know not, good people, I know not what God it is that moveth me, nor what divine vengeance pursues and vexes me with divers thoughts and cogitations; but this I am sure of, that all this day I have had no rest nor quiet, either in body or mind: and truly when I heard that divers guiltless persons were cruelly tortured here in your presence, had it not been for their sakes, I had soon rid myself out of the way, and not appeared in this place to declare that the King's death was my own act. My conscience constraineth me to confess the truth, without considering my own safety, lest the innocent should wrongfully perish; therefore take it for a certain truth, that none of those whom you have examined are in the least concerned in this crime, for I, and I alone, am she that, with these wicked hands, did strangle Fergus the last night, about whose death you seem so much concerned; being moved thereto by two as sharp motives as can possibly incite a woman;—impatient lust, and furious revenge. Fergus, by his continual converse with concubines, hath a long time denied me the right of a wife; whereupon, when by my often advertisements and reproofs I despaired to reduce him to reason, my breast swelled with vehement rage and fury, which drove me on impetuously to commit so wicked a deed. I thought it better to dispatch the adulterer, than being destitute of my husband, and defrauded of all queenlike honour, to live still subject to the perpetual injuries of such lewd women as he maintained in my stead: give liberty therefore to those who are wrongfully accused for the King's death; and as for me, you shall not need to proceed against me as guilty of this fact by order of law, for I that had the boldness to commit this heinous act, will not fear to do execution upon myself, even here immediately in the presence of you all. What honour is due to the dead, see that you perform it."

Having ended her oration, she plucked forth a dagger hid under her garments, and therewith struck herself to the heart, falling down dead immediately in the place. The spectators were amazed at her constancy in dying, as well as her rage in murdering her husband. The body of Fergus was buried at Colmkill, but the Queen's in unholy ground, as a self-murderer. He reigned only three years, and died in 770.

XXV. Solvathius, the son of Eugenius the Eighth, succeeded him, who seemed a prince born to accomplish great enterprises, had

not fortune hindered; for he was so extremely tormented with the gout, by lying abroad in the cold in hunting, which continued with him during life, that he was not capable of those worthy achievements which he designed to have performed. This encouraged Macdonald, governor of the Isle of Tyne, to take possession of all the towns and castles in the Western Isles, causing himself to be proclaimed King of them; yea, he transported an army of idle dissolute fellows into the main land, who made great havoc and destruction in all places where they came; but the governors of Athol and Argyll being sent with a company of experienced soldiers, encountered, and soon put them to flight, chasing them into a streight in Lorn, the entrance whereof is very narrow, but large within, encompassed with craggy mountains, and a deep river at the bottom, so that there was no safe way to get out, but by the passage wherein they entered at, which Macdonald designed to do; but finding it strongly guarded by the King's forces, he was much surprised, and calling his commanders together, they knew not what to agree upon; so that after three days they offered to yield themselves at mercy: but this being denied, they desperately rushed through the midst of their enemies in the evening, in hope to have forced their way, but had the hard hap to be every man cut off, by the command of the governors, for a terror to other rebels. After this, another insurrection was raised by the son of Donald, lately executed; but it was soon suppressed, and the ringleaders punished. At this time, the English, Saxons, and Welch, were so employed by the several kings and governors, who strove for the sovereignty, that they had no leisure to attempt any thing against Scotland; neither were the Picts free from the same inconveniences, one party of them destroying another, so that the Scots were not in the least troubled with foreign enemies. And Solvathius having reigned twenty years, died in 788.

XXVI. Achaius, the son of Ethfin, next ascended the throne, a man highly renowned for his earnest zeal to justice, who, by his former conversation among the gentry, perfectly understood the secret feuds and animosities among them; for the destruction of each other, which he foresaw would be of dangerous consequence to the peace of the kingdom; and therefore calling them together, he managed matters with such wisdom and dexterity, that he perfectly reconciled them. Having thus settled the realm, it happened that several Irishmen arriving in Cantire, were slain by the inhabitants of the Western Isles. This loss the Irish were resolved to revenge,

but Achaius sent an ambassador, disowning the act, as committed by a company of rovers and outlaws, without order or command, which yet could nothing prevail upon the haughty spirits of the Irish nobility, (for at that time they had no king over them) who returned answer, "That they were resolved to receive satisfaction for the dishonour they had received, before they would make the least overtures for peace;" and thereupon getting a great number of ships and men together, they were all cast away in a tempest, which so qualified the rest, that they gladly hearkened to an agreement, confessing the just judgment of God upon them for attempting war against those that had not deserved it of them. Achaius replied, "That the Irish nation were so stubborn, that they would never hear reason unless they were thoroughly scourged, and that the righteous Creator had dealt with them according to their deserts; however, setting aside all past injuries, to shew himself to be a follower of Christ, who hath so often praised and recommended peace and tranquillity to us, he was content to grant them that peace which they now sued for: and accordingly it was concluded between both nations with much satisfaction.

At this time the league with France was first entered into, which continued so many ages after; for Carolus, surnamed Magnus, the great, then reigning in France, finding that the English daily molested the seas, to the great damage of trade and merchandize, especially upon the coasts of France and Flanders, and many times landing and plundering the inhabitants, he resolved, by the advice of his council, to conclude an alliance with the Scots and Picts, wherein this principal article should be inserted: "That as oft as the English should invade the French, they should fall upon them at home; and on the contrary, if the English should war upon the Scots and Picts, the French would invade the west of England to divert them." To this end Charles sent several honourable grave persons as ambassadors to Achaius, who represented to him the convenience of this league, and what benefit it would be to both nations, since the English, who were known to be very greedy of possessing other mens' estates and countries, would be thereby restrained from such injurious enterprizes as they daily undertook against their Christian neighbours; yea, it would be very advantageous for Christendom in general; for if such insolences continued, they might occasion the diverting those forces which were designed against the Saracens, the common enemies of Christianity, to suppress the Eng-

lish, and thereby much endanger those parts of Christendom which lie exposed to the mercy of those barbarous infidels.

This message was heard with great attention by those present, and the ambassadors very kindly treated; but since the nobility were of different opinions concerning the league, the king called an extraordinary assembly, and ordering several of his lords to go a-hunting with the ambassadors, that they might not be present; he consulted with the rest concerning this weighty affair, and commanded one Colman, a person of great authority and approved wisdom, first to speak and give his opinion thereupon; who standing up, spake as followeth:

“ No man ought to wonder I perceive, King Achaius, if many of our nation are desirous of concluding this alliance with France, as being persuaded that nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, nothing more honourable, nor more pleasing to Almighty God, than to join in league and friendship with a nation of the greatest wealth and power at this day, within the bounds of Europe, so that by this means the Scottish nation will become famous and renowned throughout the world; yet truly these considerations which seem at first so pleasing, are not to be regarded in respect of the evils that may arise therefrom, for if our determinations should conclude with the entering into this naughty and pernicious league, we shall too soon find how much we have forsaken our reason and interest therein; for what is it, I beseech you, but joining in society with the French against our neighbours the English, whose friendship is so useful and necessary to us, and whose enmity will occasion us to have a near and domestic enemy at hand at all times, even when our supposed friends shall be far from us, and divided from our country by a great and large sea; at whose pleasure likewise we must make war against our neighbours and fight for the safety of others, putting our bodies in danger of wounds and death for those who are a great way from us; yea, in their quarrels to hazard our lives and estates, and the bringing the kingdom itself to the most extreme danger of utter destruction: I therefore think it best to take mature advice and deliberation, lest while we seek for vain glory and counterfeit honour, we thereby provoke our English neighbours, and lose our liberties, obtained with so much labour and pains by our ancestors, and for which they so often valiantly fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and lastly, the Saxons. Can there be any thing more pernicious to a free-born people, than to measure the laws of

peace, the chances of war, yea, our liberty itself, by the will and pleasure of a foreign nation, and thereby enter as it were into bondage to them; for the avoiding whereof, not only men, but all other living creatures are ready to fight to the utmost? If the French, in the heat of the war, wherein we must engage for their sakes, should happen to forsake us and conclude a peace with our enemies, leaving us alone to endure their fury, I would fain know before what judge we should be able to arraign them, or by what authority we should constrain them to satisfy us for the vast losses and injuries we are like to sustain from the hands of the English. Have we strength and power enough to revenge our wrongs upon them, after we have been vanquished and brought in a manner into utter confusion, by the war which we shall enter into for their sakes. If ever we shall fall into that condition, which God forbid, that through want and weakness the French should utterly forsake us, and we be thereby absolutely unable to resist the English puissance, before whom, I beseech you, I say again, before whom shall we accuse them for breaking this league? We shall daily have to do with our enemies after this alliance is concluded, (if it ever be) and but seldom with our friends. In the midst of our enemies we shall have constant occasion to fight in our own defence, whereas we have a long way both by sea and land, before we arrive to our friends, if need should enforce us to crave their aid. Commodities will be brought to us out of France, Spain, and Germany, not such as we want or desire, but only those which the English will permit us to have. Again, when our merchants sail into France, what havens shall we leave them to resort to in dangerous tempests which often happen at sea? Either they must perish and be cast away by shipwreck, or fall into the hands of our enemies, with their lives, liberties, and goods: what disadvantages will arise hereby, your highness (most prudent prince) and your most circumspect counsellors may easily perceive. For my part, I think it most expedient that we should continue the former peace concluded with the Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the wisdom of our predecessors, who certainly very well understood what was most for the benefit and interest of the Scottish nation, and let us not covet new amity with an unknown people, who have as yet deserved little or nothing at our hands, and whose designs, I must needs say, I do very much suspect, since they seek alliances so far off; if we do otherwise, we shall seem manifestly to resolve with ourselves to endanger our lives and liberties for the safety of the French, without having any regard at all to our own."

Many of the council seemed very much offended at Colman's oration, judging the league with France both honourable and necessary; upon which, Albion, a man of great nobility, whom the King had lately made governor of the Isles, spake as followeth:—

“ If it were possible that there could be one certain and inviolable consent and agreement between those four nations who at this day inhabit the bounds of Albion, or that the English once understood what it was to maintain and keep their faith and promises, we could not deny but the considerations and advices of Colman ought to be followed, because we should then have no occasion at all to conclude a league with any foreign nation; but since there was never found more untruth and breach of promise in any nation than among the Saxons, (who having got the rule in Albion, are now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and Britains have sufficiently experienced, I suppose it is plain and evident to you, that we must of necessity either fight or stand at continual defiance with those who are always ready to assault us with open force or secret fraud, or else we must link ourselves with such allies and confederates, as, by their assistance, may be able to support us against the malice of this unfaithful people. What will you call it, I pray, faith or treason, that when the Saxons were in time past requested by the Britains to aid them against their enemies, and were most lovingly treated and highly rewarded for their service; yet they, in requital of such kindness, shewed themselves enemies instead of aiders, destroyers instead of defenders, turning their weapons upon the Britains who had sent to them for assistance? And now they have not only destroyed a multitude of them with fire and sword, but have likewise deprived them of their kingdom and liberty. What league or truce have they at any time kept, (none of you are ignorant of what I speak) if they at any time had occasion to vex their neighbours, or gain any thing by falsifying their oaths? Neither have they been ever ashamed to break their faith where hope of advantage hath at any time been offered. Into what woeful and most miserable calamities hath the treachery of the Saxons brought the silly Britains? How oft have they broke the peace both with them and the Picts, even when we had not the least thought of any such thing? Yea how do they war against each other at this very time more by craft than force, inso-much that so many kings and noblemen have been traitorously murdered and made away in Northumberland, as none now dares venture to take upon him the government of that kingdom. It is not many years since Oswyn, their King, was ridded out of the way by the

treason of Osway, who succeeded him, and was himself likewise deprived of life and kingdom by Osrik, whom Egbert, desirous to reign in his place, found means to dispatch. Egbert was slain by Mollo, and Mollo by Alfred, who was also killed by the treachery of Ethelbert, he himself having no better success, being lately betrayed by his own subjects, and shamefully cut off. Neither do the English manage their wars with less unworthy shifts and devices in all places where they inhabit within Albion. The reverend fathers of the church, and other godly men addicted to virtue, to whom the preaching of God's word hath been committed, being wearied, and abhorring the madness, rage, and wicked misdemeanors of that nation, have left their bishoprics, abbeys, monasteries, and cells, and are removed from thence into foreign nations; and if the English do at this present abstain from making war upon us, it must not be imputed to any reverence they have to faith and equity, or their respect to the league made with us, but to such civil divisions and discords as now reign among them; neither need we in the least doubt but when they cease they will immediately take their swords in hand against us, notwithstanding all the leagues or covenants of peace to the contrary: to repress, therefore, and abate their subtle practices, I know no readier way than to enter into league and friendship with that people, who being joined with us, may chastise the outrageous frenzy of this profligate nation as cause shall require. Fortune hath now offered us convenient means and occasion to perform it: for at this time the French King's ambassadors freely offer that to us which being so beneficial, ought earnestly to be wished and desired by us; that is, they require us to join in league against the English with their King, whom France, Spain, and no small part of Germany do acknowledge for their sovereign. Ought this to be despised by men in their senses? Ought the society of the French nation to be refused of us who inhabit here in the uttermost parts of the earth, since it is frankly desired by them unto whom for their faith and sincerity both toward God and man, the large empire of the world is given? So that if we thankfully receive this notable benefit, it will purchase to us the amity of the Spaniards, French, Germans, and all those nations who acknowledge King Charles for their head and sovereign lord: hereupon a free passage for merchants to and fro, shall be opened, to bring in all kind of wares and merchandize. I doubt not, therefore, but every one of you, if he thoroughly weigh the matter, will easily judge that the alliance of the French, so mighty both by sea and land, and of such approved fidelity and truth, ought

more to be esteemed, and is much more beneficial to the Scottish commonwealth than the faithless promises and great disloyalty of the Saxons. None here are ignorant that the English nation study no less to bring us under the yoke of servitude than they do the Welsh, if they had power according to their wills. If therefore we desire to avoid the wrath and violence of most cruel enemies—if we would escape their cunning designs—if we regard the Christian religion, for which the French are continually in arms—if we reverence virtue and faithfulness above breach of vows and covenants—if we value the glory and honour of our nation—if we covet the advancement of our country, rest and peace—in fine, if we regard our lives and liberties, the dearest jewels of mankind, let us with joyful hearts establish this league with France, and firmly continue the same, with assured trust and confidence, that it will bring perpetual advantage and renown to us, both for the security of our realm, and the restraining the unreasonable attempts and wrongful injuries which our adversaries shall at any time hereafter enterprise against us.”

This speech drew the minds of the auditors to be altogether of his opinion; and Achaius hereby understanding that his subjects were generally inclined to the league, he dismissed the assembly till the next day, and in the mean time treated the ambassadors with a costly banquet; after which it was agreed at a conference with the nobility and lords of the council, that for the solemn ratifying this league with King Charles, according to his desire, there should go with the ambassadors the Lord William, brother to the King, with four other learned and honourable personages, and to carry four thousand men with them to fight against the infidels and enemies of Christianity, as King Charles should order them. The next day Achaius declaring to the ambassadors what was concluded on, they rejoiced greatly thereat, giving hearty thanks to him and his counsellors for their kindness and respect to their master; they went from hence to Hungus, King of Picts, with the same message, who gave them many thanks for their good wills, but since it was a matter of concernment, he would take time to deliberate thereupon. The ambassadors then returned to Achaius, and all things being prepared, they went back again, accompanied with the Lord William, the four others, and the four thousand men, and being arrived in France, were received with all manner of kindness by King Charles, who used them all like his own natural subjects; and the league being confirmed by King Charles, was proclaimed throughout France, to continue between the two nations and their posterities for ever.

The chief articles whereof were, "That this amity and confederation between the French and Scots was to be firm and perpetual between them and their posterities for ever; that the wars or injuries attempted by the English against either nation should be accounted common to both; the French being assaulted by the English, the Scots shall send them aid to be paid, and armed by the French; the French on the contrary, to aid the Scots at their own proper cost and charges. If any person of either nation shall assist the English with arms, counsel or provisions, he shall be reputed a traitor to both princes; neither nation to conclude a peace or truce without consent of the other;" and for a further memorial of this matter, Achaius added to his arms, being a red lion in a field of gold, a double trace seamed with flower de luce, to signify, that the lion should be henceforth defended by the aid of the French, and that the Scottish Kings should fight valiantly in defence of their country, liberty, religion, and innocency, which the heralds say is represented by the flower de luce. The Lord William remained with King Charles, performing many considerable enterprises to the advantage of the French, in Florence and elsewhere.

About this time Athelstane, son of Ethelwald, King of the West Saxons, getting the sovereignty of Kent, East Saxony, Mercia, and Northumberland, and being ambitious to enlarge his dominions, entered into Pictland about Berwick, as belonging to Northumberland, and putting all to fire and sword in Deira, he was recalled to suppress an insurrection in Mercia. Hungus, the Pictish King, resolved to revenge this injury, and applied himself to Achaius for assistance, who willingly sent him ten thousand men, wherewith he invaded the borders of Northumberland, carrying from thence very great booty, of which Athelstane having notice, came suddenly upon them, and then a herald proclaimed that all the Picts should be immediately put to the sword, which cruel command much amazed the Picts; yet they fortified the camp in the best manner they could, and after a while issued out with such courage, that they utterly routed the English army, killing Athelstane and most of his men, five hundred only making their escape. The historian saith, this victory happened to the Picts by miracle; for the night before the battle there appeared to Hungus in his sleep, the apostle St. Andrew, as the story goes, assuring him of victory, and for a certain token thereof he told him there should appear such a cross as he formerly suffered upon in the sky over the Pictish host; when Hungus awaked, looking up to the sky, he saw this cross, and shewed it to his soldiers,

declaring what was revealed to him in his sleep, wherewith they were so encouraged, as not in the least to doubt of success, which happened accordingly; from whence it came to pass, that in time of war their posterity carried this cross in their banners, and in gratitude to this apostle, Hungus built a church, and dedicated it to St. Andrew, giving thereto many rich ornaments, and causing the images of Christ and the twelve apostles to be made of beaten gold, and a case of gold with the reliques of St. Andrew: he bestowed them upon the same church, granting the clergy many and great privileges and revenues, which yet they did not long enjoy, being deprived of them by Feredeth, his successor, and the revenues bestowed on the soldiers. After this great loss of the English, the Scots and Picts lived in peace during the lives of both their Kings, and after Achaius had reigned thirty-two years, he died in 821.

XXVII. Congal the Third, his uncle's son, by Dongal, the brother of King Ethfin, was his successor, betwixt whom and Hungus King of Picts, there was very great love and amity, both studying by all ways and means to maintain the ancient league and alliance between their people, which procured much quietness and wealth to both kingdoms. At length Hungus being wasted with a continual consumption, delivered up his kingdom to his son Dorstorgus, in the presence of King Congal, and then departed this life. Neither did Congal long survive him, dying likewise of sickness in the fifth year of his reign, 826.

XXVIII. Dongal the Second, the son of Solvathius, was next preferred to the crown, a man of singular wisdom and conduct, but being somewhat severe in punishing the disorders of the nobility and young gentry, divers of them conspired against him, and caused Alpine, the son of Achaius, to lay claim to the crown, who perceiving he must either please them, or be murdered by them, consented to go into Argyle with them, designing to crown him in the marble chair there; but Alpine being sensible of the great calamities this action would of necessity bring upon his country, made his escape from them, and came to Dongal, who joyfully received him, promising that if the states of the realm should think it necessary, he would gladly resign the government to him, as being desirous of nothing more than the advancement of the House of Achaius. Alpine gave the King most hearty thanks, beseeching him to continue in the administration of the realm, and calling God and the world to witness, that he regarded nothing less than the government of the kingdom, and as for his marching into Argyle at the head of an

army, it was no fault of his, since the conspirators forced him, threatening to kill him if he did not comply with them; about three days after they sent to excuse themselves, charging all the fault upon Alpine. The King little regarded their words, but raising his forces, marched so suddenly to the place where they were assembled, that he surprized most of them before they heard of his coming, who were presently condemned and executed, which so terrified the rest, that they continued quiet a great while after.

At this time Eganus, the second son of Hungus, King of Picts, murdered his elder brother Dorstorlorgus, to obtain the kingdom, which with the assistance of some of the nobility, he attained, and to settle himself the firmer, he freely bestowed his father's treasure among his lords and other great men, taking to wife Brenna, daughter to the King of Mercia, who was his brother's widow, thereby to appease the Mercian King for the death of his son-in-law; yet he lived a miserable life, being continually in fear of all men, and scarce durst trust in any, doubting they would revenge his brother's death, and therefore never went without a great guard of his friends, whom he had obliged with money and great presents; but notwithstanding all this precaution, his wife (in revenge of her former husband's death,) strangled him one night in his bed when he was drunk, not having reigned full two years.

These two sons of Hungus being thus made away without leaving any issue behind them, the posterity of Hungus were utterly extinct, whereupon Alpine, who was nephew to Hungus, by his sister Fergusiana, by the advice of King Dongal, laid claim to the Pictish crown, and thereupon sent messengers to the lords of Pictland, to demand the government of the kingdom due to him by lawful inheritance, and that if they considered the thing, it might seem to be ordained by Almighty God, that for want of a lawful successor of the line of Hungus in the Pictish realm, the Scots and Picts might by this means be united into one, for preventing wars and bloodshed for the future, which had hitherto endangered the ruin of both nations. The Pictish nobility having notice of the coming of these ambassadors, unanimously chose one Feredeth to be their King, a man of great authority among them, thereby to exclude the title of Alpine.

Soon after the ambassadors came to Camelon, the chief city of the Picts, where Feredeth and his nobles were assembled, and having audience, they began to declare Alpine's right to the government, but the people would not suffer them to proceed any further, making

so great an uproar, that to appease it, Feredeth himself stood up, and commanding silence, acquainted them, " That the Picts neither could nor would admit any stranger to rule over them, because there was an ancient law much revered among them, that in case of necessity they might transpose the succession of the crown from one family to another; and that by the same law it was ordained and decreed, that if any person were once elected and created King, he should not be deposed during his natural life, and therefore, though Alpine were the nephew of Hungus, yet being born a stranger, and considering that the people by their full authority had translated the regal administration to another house, one whereof was already proclaimed and invested King, there was no reason that Alpine should now lay any further claim to the kingdom.

The ambassadors returning with this answer, Dongal sent others, requiring Feredeth to do reason, or to expect open wars from the Scots in three months. As these ambassadors were going toward Camelon, divers serjeants met them, and forbid them to enter the city, commanding them in the name of Feredeth their King, to depart out of his dominions within four days upon pain of death, with which being terrified, they went no further; yet, according to their commission, denounced war against the Picts, in the name of Dongal, and Alpine. Upon this, great preparations were made on each side for war, one to settle Alpine in his right, and the other to prevent any stranger prince from reigning over them. But while all things were providing, Dongal happened to be drowned in the river Spey, the boat being cast away, after he had reigned six years, in 832.

XXIX. Alpine was then received to the crown with the general joy of the people, who presently endeavoured to pursue his title to the Pictish kingdom, and entering thereinto with a well appointed army, was met by Feredeth, when a very great battle was fought, wherein King Feredeth was slain, and abundance of his people: Alpine likewise losing above a third part of his army. The Scots fearing such another costly victory might endanger the ruin of their country, resolved to manage it only with a few, who should continually make incursions upon the Picts, which they did so effectually, that the country was left desolate of inhabitants. Neither could Brudus (the son of Feredeth, whom they had chosen King,) prevent it; for being a slothful person, and negligent in his government, he thereby became a derision among his people, who finally slew him among themselves before he had reigned a full year. Kenneth, the

second son of Feredeth, succeeded with no better fortune; for assembling an army of his subjects, and coming unto Angus, he no sooner saw his enemies, but that he threw off his armour, and immediately fled, leaving his people in the field, and for haste was slain by a ploughman, who met him by chance, and knew him not, only observing he fled from his company, he judged him to deserve no other favour. The soldiers finding themselves destitute of a commander, retired in good order without any further attempt.

After this unfortunate end of Kenneth, the Picts choose another called Brudus, of a stout and warlike spirit, who coming into Angus, seized and hanged several Scotch robbers. He then sent to Alpine to renew the ancient league between both nations, but was rejected, and no peace nor truce to be expected without delivering up the kingdom; whereupon Brudus sent a great sum of money to Edwin, King of Northumberland, desiring his aid: the money was received, and assistance promised, but never sent, Edwin pretending he had domestic rebellions to quell, and likewise that he had been requested by Lewis the French King by no means to endamage the Scots his confederates, but that if he would defer the war till next year he would send him succours. Brudus perceiving himself deluded by the English, summoned all his subjects who were able to bear arms, to assemble in Caledony within eight days, with all necessary provisions, there to understand his pleasure. His commands were obeyed, and a mighty army appeared, wherewith he presently marched towards the enemy. The night before the battle Brudus ordered all the horses that belonged to the carriages to be put among the lacquies and women, part of whom was clothed in armour, and part in white linen, with long poles in their hands like javelins, an hundred horsemen being likewise placed among them; these he laid in a wood hard by the field of battle. The next morning the fight began with great fury, wherein at the first the Scots were much disordered, but by the presence of Alpine were again reinforced, and began to get ground of the enemy, at which time this counterfeit troop came out of the wood, and shewed themselves upon the back of them, appearing a much greater number than they were; wherewith the Scots were so terrified, that they immediately threw away their arms and fled, so that few were slain in the battle, but many in the chase. Alpine himself was taken, and having his hands bound behind him, was led to the next town and there beheaded; his head was set upon a pole on the highest tower in Camelon, having reigned only four years, in 836.

XXX. The Scots who escaped from this woeful overthrow, retired presently into Argyle, and chose Kenneth the Second, the son of Alpine, King. The Picts having obtained so considerable a victory, assembled at Camelon by their King's command, where causing a solemn procession of thanks to be made for their good success, they then took a solemn oath upon the four Evangelists, "That from thenceforward they would never cease to make war against the Scots till they had utterly destroyed and rooted out the whole race from the face of the earth; and that if any man durst mention or propose any league or peace to be made with them, he should lose his head." Several grave personages in the assembly were extremely scandalized at this extravagant presumption and outrage of the people, alleging, that in prosperity men ought to use modesty; wherewith the younger men were so offended, that they thrust them out of the church where they were met. The Scots having notice hereof, were not in the least discouraged, but rather animated at such unreasonable insolence. The next summer the Picts mustering their forces, marched toward the Scots, but upon a small occasion they fell at variance, and fought with much eagerness against each other; neither could their King appease them, till night parted the fray, and finding no way to compose the quarrel, the next morning he dismissed his forces, and went home in great discontent, with the grief whereof it was thought he soon after died. After whose decease they chose one Drusken for their King, who endeavoured by all means to remove the civil discord amongst his subjects.

In the mean time, several Scots being much concerned that the head of their King should remain in that reproachful manner among their enemies, and understanding perfectly the Pictish language, they came to Camelon like merchants, and took an opportunity to get the head off the walls, which they brought safely to Kenneth, who highly rewarded them, and honourably buried his father's corpse together in a leaden coffin in Colmkill. The King then designed to revenge his father's death upon the Picts, but upon proposing it to his lords, he found them extreme backward, as remembering the late misfortune; whereupon Kenneth, breaking up the assembly, invited them all to supper that evening, where they were highly treated till very late in the night, so that as soon as they were in bed they fell fast asleep: now the King had ordered several men to be clothed in shining fish scales, with a stick of shining rotten wood in one hand, and a great hunting horn in the other, that they speaking through the horn, their voices might seem terrible

and unusual. Being thus accommodated, about midnight they enter, one into each of the lords apartments, who were sound asleep, and by their noise half awakened them, who were much astonished at the sight, doubting whether it were a dream or vision; upon this they heard them speak with strange voices, far greater than those of men, and uttered these words, "That they were messengers sent from Almighty God to the nobility of Scotland, to command them to obey their King, for his request was just; that the Pictish kingdom was due to him by rightful inheritance, and ought to be recovered from that people, who for their great sins and provocations toward heaven, should suddenly come to utter destruction; for such was the pleasure and determination of the Divine Majesty, which neither wisdom nor policy was able to prevent.

When these pretended messengers had thus spoke, they presently hid their stars and shining garments under their other clothes, so that they seemed instantly to vanish away. The next morning, these lords being again met in the council chamber, declared to each other what they had seen and heard, which finding to be the very same to every one, they certainly concluded it was some celestial oracle, and divine admonition from God, and therefore went and discovered it to the King, who told them he had seen the like vision, but that they ought to conceal it, lest they should displease the Almighty, but when, through his favourable assistance, the war was brought to an happy end, they might then publish it. This advice was approved of, and the nobles made all manner of provisions, so that a greater army was mustered than had formerly been seen, wherewith they unexpectedly invaded Pictland. King Drusken met them, being assisted by some English, who in the beginning of the fight left them, so that the Scots obtained a considerable victory, Drusken escaping by the swiftness of his horse; the Picts hereupon sue for peace, which Kenneth would not hearken to upon any other condition than surrendering the kingdom into his hands as his right.

Upon which, the war went on with greater fury and destruction of the Picts in all places, who soon after received another terrible overthrow, wherein their King was killed, and most of their nobility. It is said that the Scots encountered with the Picts in this fight seven several times in seven several places, wherein the victory still remained to the Scots; Kenneth was hereupon advised to dismiss his army, but resolving to make an end of the war all at once,

which was now in so fair a way, he called the people together, and spake thus to them:

"It is the duty of a wise captain, when he hath the victory in his hands, and the war is not yet finished, to use his success to the best advantage, both for the preservation of himself and his country, and not to divert from pursuing his enemies once vanquished, till he have either made them his friends, or else utterly destroyed and rooted them out; for if any shall imagine it the best course to suffer them to remain quiet when they are brought low, till it may be in time they shall recover fresh force and strength, I think he may thereby procure more danger than he is aware of. And to apply to the present case, the Pictish kingdom we know is now very much enfeebled, their forces routed, their power weakened, so that it is in our hands utterly to exterminate and destroy the whole nation, which yet were an action to be abhorred and detested, if it were possible for us by any honourable means to invite them in friendship with us; but the Picts are of such stubborn and revengeful natures, that so long as there remains one alive, they will retain in their hearts the utmost sentiments of vengeance against the Scots for the losses and mischiefs received by them, so that I think it impossible any of the Pictish nation should ever have the least kindness for us for the future; therefore, since we can never make them friends, it will certainly be our interest and security utterly to extinguish the whole race, by putting to the sword not only the men and women, but their very youth and infants, lest they, being descended from their loins, should in time to come, arm themselves to avenge the deaths of their parents, and thereby greatly hazard the utter ruin of our country and kingdom."

Although this cruel determination seemed very severe, yet to please the King, and for the future safety of Scotland, it was allowed and confirmed by all the people; upon which such barbarity was used, that through all the Pictish kingdom no creature of human shape was left alive, but such as saved themselves within the walls of Camelon and other strong places, and about two thousand who fled into England, the rest were unmercifully murdered, without respect to age, sex, or quality, and new names were given to all places, that no remembrance of the Picts might remain. Soon after, the city of Camelon was besieged, wherein were most of the noblemen's wives and children, the siege continuing so long, that they were forced to feed upon cats, dogs, and the most abhorred things in nature; yet so obstinate were they, that if any did but

mention surrendering, he was presently slain by his fellows: at length it was taken by assault, and miserable slaughter was made among the religious as well as others; a great number of ladies and gentlewomen got into the presence of King Kenneth, and lamentably besought him to take pity upon their miserable condition, and to save their lives from his bloody soldiers: but such was the rage of the Scots, that they ran upon them and slew them all without mercy or compassion; yea, so dreadful was the carnage, that there was not one left alive of the Pictish nation, neither man, woman, nor child, to bewail the miserable destruction of their kindred or country: then were the walls of Camelon laid level with the ground, the houses and churches burnt, so that there remained nothing of this famous city but deplorable ashes and ruins. At the same time the castle of Maidens, now called Edinburgh, was kept with a mighty garrison of Picts, who hearing of the woeful fate of Camelon, and doubting the same might happen to them, left the castle, and made their escape into Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdom of the Picts, after they had reigned therein 1173 years, in the year of Christ, 839; from the first coming of Fergus into Scotland, 1166 years, and from the creation of the world, according to the Scottish writers, 4806.

This year two dreadful comets appeared, fiery armies were seen in the air, running against each other with burning spears, one vanquishing the other, and both immediately vanishing. At Camelon, as the bishop was officiating, holding his crozier staff in his hand, it suddenly fell on fire of itself, neither could by any means be quenched till it was burnt to ashes; about noon, the sky being fair and clear, such a noise and clattering of arms, and neighing of horses, was heard both in Scotland and Pictland, as if two armies had been engaged in battle. These prodigies were diversly interpreted, though they seemed all to presage the dreadful calamities that followed.

Kenneth having thus destroyed the Pictish kingdom, caused the marble chair to be removed out of Argyle to Scone, where the succeeding Kings were crowned; those Picts that fled into Northumberland endeavoured to persuade the English to attempt the recovery of their country, but not prevailing by reason of the intestine divisions amongst themselves, some of them went to Norway and Denmark, and others laying aside the thoughts of war, settled themselves in lawful employments, the Scots from thenceforth living in great quiet during the life of Kenneth, who was of great renown

among them for having so much enlarged his dominions, which now extended from Northumberland South to the Isles of Orkney North; and likewise for many good laws he instituted for the benefit of his people, some of which being extraordinary, may be worth inserting.

He ordained, "That if any were convicted of extortion, bribery, or unjust dealing, he should die upon the gallows, and his body remain unburied: thieves to be hanged, and murderers beheaded: a woman condemned to death, to be either drowned or buried alive: he that blasphemeth the name of God, of his saints, of his prince, or of the captain of his tribe, his tongue to be cut out: he that is convicted of a lie to the hindrance of his neighbour, to have his sword taken from him, and to be banished out of all men's company: those who are accused of any crimes that deserve death, to be tried by the sentence of seven honest men, or of nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, or more, so that they be an odd number: robbers in the highway, and destroyers of corn, to die by the sword, as in time of war: fugitives, vagabonds, and the like, to be whipped and burnt in the cheek: the wife not to suffer for the husband's offences, but the husband to answer for the wife's misdeeds, if consenting thereto: any man's wench or concubine to suffer the like penalty with him that offended with her: he that ravisheth a maid shall die for it, unless, to save his life, she require him for her husband: a man taken in adultery, if the woman consent, they shall both suffer death; but if she be forced, he only to die, and she released: if a child wrong his father, either with tongue, hand, or foot, that member to be first cut off, his body hanged, and remain unburied: a murderer, a dumb person, or one ungrateful to his parents, not to inherit his father's patrimony: juglers, vizards, necromancers, or such as pretend to raise spirits or seek help from them, to be burnt to death: let no man sow any grain in the earth till it be first purged from weeds: he that through negligence or sloth shall suffer his land to be over-run with weeds, for the first fault, to forfeit an ox; for the second, ten oxen; and for the third, to lose his ground. Thy companion or friend in the wars, take thou care to bury, but let thine enemy lie unburied. Stray cattle to be restored to the owner, vicar of the parish, or searcher for thieves, within three days, upon pain of being accounted guilty of theft: things found to be cried in the market, or else the finder judged for a felon: he that striketh his adversary with whom he is in law, shall be judged guilty of the action, and the other freed: if an ox or cow kill one another

and it is not known which begun the quarrel, he that is found without horns shall be accounted the cause of the mischief, and the owner of the same shall have the dead beast and satisfy for the other: if a sow eat her pigs, let her be stoned to death, and none to eat of her flesh: a swine found eating or rooting up corn, to be killed without damage; other beasts to be impounded till the owner make satisfaction."

Other laws he made about the church. "To hurt a priest, to be accounted death: all ceremonies to be observed: reverence to be given to altars, temples, images, chapels, priests, &c. The ground wherein a man slain lies buried, to be left untill for seven years after: repute every grave holy, and adorn it with the sign of the cross, and by no means set thy feet upon it: bury the dead according to his substance: the body of a nobleman, or he that hath deserved well of the commonwealth, to be buried in solemn and pompous manner, but yet in mourning and dolorous sort; let there be two knights to attend his body to the grave, one of them mounted on a white horse, to carry the armour of the deceased, the other shall ride upon a black horse in mourning, with his face covered; when the corps is brought to church, turning his horse from the altar, he shall proclaim, 'that his master is dead;' whereat the people making a great outcry, he shall speedily depart, and the other going up to the altar, shall offer his armour and white horse to the priest, to signify that his master enjoys happiness in everlasting light and joy." With these and other ordinances, Kenneth governed his people in much felicity, and having reigned twenty years in great honour and renown, he died in 856.

XXXI. Donald the Second, his brother, reigned after him, of much different qualities from his predecessor; though before he came to the government he concealed his vicious inclinations, for fear of offending his brother. In two years time he subverted all good order in the realm, giving himself up to riot, gluttony, and debauchery with wanton women, banqueting, and other enormities, advancing only the vicious, and discountenancing the virtuous. The nobility observing these disorders, freely admonished the King of the mischiefs that would ensue upon the licentious actions of his servants, but found him altogether deaf to their petitions; so that for fear of further offending, they continued in a sad silence to see oppression and violence reign through the kingdom. At this time, the residue of the Picts in England renewed their applications to the rulers thereof, to assist them in recovering their country, pro-

missing subjection to them for the future; which induced Osbert and Ella, Kings of Northumberland, to undertake it, especially since they heard of the miscarriages and weakness of the Scotch government; and concluding a league with the Britains who inhabited Cumberland, they joined their forces and marched toward the river Tweed, from whence they sent an herald to King Donald, requiring him to surrender all the country which the Scots had taken from the Picts, or else he must expect the English and Britains to be no less severe enemies to them, than they whose cause they had undertaken to maintain and defend.

Donald was at first somewhat startled at the news, but being encouraged by his friends, he mustered up his subjects and marched into the field; but the youth of the army were so corrupted with vicious customs, that the provision which should have served for the soldiers was spent among whores, bawds, and gamesters, where-with the camp was replenished, which occasioned many mischiefs and murders among them. When their enemies understood these disorders, occasioned for want of discreet commanders, they came unexpectedly upon them one morning by break of day, and finding them utterly unprovided for resistance, made a terrible slaughter among them: above twenty thousand Scots being slain, King Donald himself was taken asleep, having overdrank himself the night before, and many of the nobility with him. When the news of this unfortunate battle came to Scotland, the people were so wonderfully astonished that they made no defence against their enemies, so that the English pursuing their victory, took in a great part of the country. At length the Scots sued for peace, which was condescended to by the English, but upon such hard terms, that the people generally resolved not to accept of them: but Culene, a nobleman and governor of Angus, assembling them together, spake to this purpose:—

“ Dear countrymen,

“ Though your sentiments of the severity of the conditions of peace are right and just, yet we must likewise consider the time wherein they are offered us; even now, when the realm is extremely enfeebled and impoverished through the frowns of fortune. It is therefore more adviseable to yield to necessity, and save a part at present, whereby we may hereafter be in a condition to recover the remainder, than through wilfulness and obstinacy, to lose the whole. For, considering our imminent danger, it can be no dishonour to receive such terms as our enemies will permit, since the Romans did

once gladly accept of that peace which our noble prince Galde allowed them; and it is not to be doubted but they regarded their repute and honour above all things in the world."

With such reasons and arguments Culene quieted the multitude, and King Donald, with his nobles, were freed and sent home according to that agreement, and the countries conquered by the English and Britains were divided between them. The town of Sterling being the common march to them and the Scots, only the castle was held by Osbert, who set up a mint there to coin money, which the Scotch writers, by mistake, affirm to be called Sterling from this place. He likewise made a stone bridge over the river Forth, instead of that of wood erected by the Picts; in the midst he set up a cross, whereon these verses were engraven:—

Anglos a Scotis separat Crux ista remotis.

Arma hic stant Bruti, stant Scoti hac sub Cruce tuti.

In Scotch, thus:—

I am free march, as passengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

The Picts, who assisted the English, expected to be restored to their former possessions; but when they saw Osbert settle his own subjects therein, they began to suspect lest they of friends should become enemies, and to secure their interests therein, should root out the whole generation of the Picts; whereupon they provided ships, and most of them sailed into Norway and Denmark; and those that remained were after slain by the English, so that there was not one to be found alive in all their dominions.

Donald was received again with much joy and honour by his people, in hope that these afflictions would have reformed his manners. But it happened otherwise; for in a short time he returned to his old vices, banishing those honourable persons from his presence who endeavoured the advancement of the kingdom and the ease of the subject. The nobility perceiving the danger the commonwealth was in by his ill management, apprehended and committed him to prison, where, a few days after, in desperation, he slew himself in the sixth year of his unfortunate reign, in 862. In his time, divers wonders happened. In Lothian, a child of six weeks old bid his mother fly out of the country, for the enemy would suddenly take it

from the Scots. The beasts in the field roared in a strange manner, and then fell down dead. Fishes in the shape of men were found dead on the Scottish shore. In Galloway, such a multitude of snakes and adders fell out of the sky, that, putrifying on the ground, they sent forth such a noisome stench as caused mortal diseases in man and beast; all which were judged ominous of what after happened.

XXXII. Constantine the Second, the son of Kenneth, succeeded, who, at his first entrance, was very desirous to have recovered those lands which the English had conquered, but his lords informing him of the weak condition of his realm by the former misfortunes, he desisted for the present, and fell upon reforming abuses at home; ordaining, "That priests should attend their cures, be free from the wars, and not meddle in temporal matters, nor keep horses, hawks, nor hounds: if any were negligent in his duty, for the first fault to pay a fine, and for the second, to lose his benefice. Youth to have but one meal a day, to prevent lasciviousness, and to abstain from dainties and strong drink; and if any young man or woman were drunk, to die for it. All youth in the kingdom to exercise running, wrestling, shooting, throwing the dart, and bowl; and lie on the boards, with only a mantle over them, to harden their bodies and fit them for service. All victualling houses, bawdy houses, and the like, to be banished out of the nation." By observing these laws, the Scots grew sober, temperate, and valiant; and Constantine was much beloved by his people, whom he maintained in peace and plenty, till one Evan, of the western isles, endeavoured to raise a rebellion; who, with several other rude persons, being abridged of their former liberty, in oppressing their inferiors, grew discontented; but endeavouring to engage the people of Murrayland, Ross, and other places therein, they discovered the whole matter to the king, who thereupon surprised them unawares, causing Evan to be hanged upon a high pair of gallows, and committing the rest of the conspirators to prison.

This being over, a worse mischief followed; for the King of Denmark pretending right to the lands of the Picts, the residue of that nation who fled thither having resigned their title and interest to him, he resolved to make war with the Scots and English, for recovering them, and to revenge the wrongs sustained by them; and thereupon landed a vast army in Fife, under his two brethren, Hungar and Hubba, before the Scots had any notice thereof, and presently fell to robbing and murdering the people, especially priests

and religious people, burning all the churches and chapels they met with, being themselves heathens and pagans. The Scots and English fled before them, not being able to resist their fury; till at length, Constantine being much incensed at those mischiefs and villainies, raised a mighty army, and obtained a very great victory against them; but being numerous, they rallied again, and gave the Scots a terrible overthrow, ten thousand of them falling that day, and Constantine being taken prisoner, was carried into a cave by the sea side, and there barbarously murdered; which place was called the Black, and afterward, the Devil's Den, in memory thereof. He reigned thirteen years, and died in 875.

XXXIII. Ethus, the brother of Constantine, was presently carried to Scone and crowned King, to prevent the utter destruction of the Scottish kingdom, which was now very much endangered. This year, in the mouth of the Forth, a multitude of fishes like men appeared, swimming about with half their bodies above water, their skins black, going in great numbers like herrings, and presaging much mischief, as the people conjectured. The river and ponds were frozen from November to April, and upon the thaw there was so great a flood over all the plains and part of the mountains, as the like had not been known; and when the waters abated, such a vast quantity of frogs were left in the mud, that, when dead, putrefied the air, from whence many mortal diseases proceeded. A mighty blazing star was seen night and day, continually following the moon.

But, to proceed, the Danes having vanquished the Scots, passed into Northumberland, ruining all before them; and being aided by divers Englishmen, they slew Osbert and Ella, both the Kings of that country, in battle, massacreing all the people, especially churchmen, and at length martyred St. Edmund, King of the East Angles; yet the English Kings maintained wars against them many years, with various success; most of the people along the coasts of the German ocean being either slain, or miserably enslaved: but Alfred, who succeeded his brother Etheldred, obtained several considerable victories against them, slaying their two captains, Hungar and Hubba, as the English chronicles relate.

Ethus, King of Scots, was so swift of foot, that he would outrun harts and greyhounds: but whatever he was of body, his mind was utterly incapable of government; for whereas he might have recovered Fife and Lothian, with the other countries, whilst the contest lasted between the Danes and English, he neglected this oppor-

tunity, delighting more in pleasure and licentiousness than warlike exercises; of which the nobility being sensible, they resolved to depose him; and speedily seeking him out, who was hunting in the forest of Caledonia, they seized him and his abettors, committing them close prisoners, and then proceeded to the investing a new King; of which, Ethus having intelligence, through anguish of mind, died within three days after, in the second year of his reign, 875.

XXXIV. Gregory, the son of Dongal the Second, was next advanced to the crown: he first caused a convocation to be called, who ordained many things for the advancement of the Christian religion; he then proceeded to recover the conquered countries from the Danes, which he did without resistance, his enemies flying before him, and then proceeded against the Britains, who likewise possessed a great part of Scotland; but they doubting their own strength, sent to desire peace, offering to surrender all those lands which had ever belonged to the Scots. Gregory considering that if the Scots, Britains, and English joined in league, they need fear neither the invasions of Danes, nor any other barbarous people; he therefore consented thereto, whereby the confines of Scotland were enlarged to their ancient and utmost bounds. This alliance much disheartened the Danes, who expecting present destruction, used divers practices to break it, and at last effected it; for the English, under King Alfred, having extraordinary success against the Danes, so that the Britains were no more afraid of them, they repented of the league they had made, and under Constantine their King entered Anandale to recover those countries, but King Gregory meeting them, vanquished their army, Constantine their King being slain among them. This overthrow endangered the utter ruin of the Britains by the Scots on one side, and the Danes on the other, the English refusing absolutely to assist them, because they had so unjustly broke the late treaty; so that at last they were forced to send ambassadors to Gregory, excusing themselves for their late unfortunate attempt, and charging the guilt thereof upon Constantine, who, contrary to the inclinations of his subjects, undertook that dishonourable and unfortunate enterprise. King Gregory having heard their message, answered to this effect:

“I am very sensible that the Britains now sue for peace, not out of any reverence or veneration to the solemn oaths and covenants they so lately entered into with us, but merely because they are afraid, for if we should still pursue the war, they are sure to receive

much damage, if not to be brought to utter destruction thereby: I am therefore resolved not to conclude any truce or peace with such faithless people, till the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland are fully resigned into my hands, with an assurance that from henceforth they will never pretend any right or title thereunto; and that for the exact performance of these conditions, the keys of all the towns, forts, and castles be delivered into my hands, and likewise that threescore noblemen's sons and heirs be sent me as hostages and security for their true intent and meaning therein; neither would I have them think these terms hard, since their infidelity has deserved no less, yea, much more severity from us.



KING ALFRED.

The ambassadors returning with this answer, they at length condescended thereto, since they knew not how to avoid it at this time, and surrendered all that was required, settling themselves in North Wales, betwixt Conway and the river Dee, where they erected a kingdom, and maintained wars against the English several years after. King Gregory having thus enlarged his kingdom, assembled

his nobles at Carlisle, and resolved with their advice to pursue his good fortune, where it was concluded to conquer the city of York, whilst the English were employed against the Danes in Kent; at which very time Alfred sent ambassadors to congratulate his success against his enemies, and to renew the ancient league with the English against their common enemies, which, upon mature deliberation, was assented to, with new articles for the mutual defence of each other.

Matters being thus settled with the English, when Gregory thought of enjoying peace and quiet, the Irish made an invasion into Galloway, because the inhabitants had plundered two ships belonging to Dublin. Gregory immediately marched toward them, but having got a vast booty of goods and cattle, they embarked again and sailed home. Gregory got his navy together and followed them, landing a great army in Ireland, and was soon met by another of the Irish, encamping themselves strongly upon the bank of the river Bane, under a great craggy mountain called Fute, intending to delay fighting till the Scots should be famished for want of provisions, and then to destroy them at pleasure: of this King Gregory was aware, and therefore in the night he privately sent two thousand men through the thick woods and bushes to the very ridge of the mountain, and upon a sign given, Gregory assailing their camp, the soldiers above tumbled down such a multitude of mighty stones and rocks on the Irish, that above a thousand of them were slain, and the rest put to flight. After this another battle was fought, wherein the Scots were again victorious, which caused the Irish to desire peace, which was managed by Cormach, bishop of Dublin, who coming to meet him, the King alighted off his horse, and falling upon his knees, devoutly kissed the crucifix: the articles were soon agreed, and great rejoicing was made upon concluding amity between both nations. Gregory then returned home, and had no great disturbance during the rest of his life, which he ended in a good old age, being never married, but living very chaste all his days, and was famous for his glorious victories and achievements, deserving to be reckoned among the most renowned princes of Scotland: he died in the eighteenth year of his reign, in 895. In his time lived the famous Johannes Scotus, or John Scot, a Scotchman born, who was brought up at Athens, learning there the Greek tongue, from whence he was sent for to the Emperor Lewis of France, and was employed by him as ambassador to Alfred, King of England, with whom he continued,

teaching his children in the abbey of Malmsbury, where he had a great number of scholars; yet when he severely reproved the young men for their vicious and evil practices, he was murdered by them with their daggers, whilst he was reading to them, and was afterward registered among the martyrs.

XXXV. Donald the Third, the son of Constantine the Second, succeeded Gregory, who finding all things in a quiet and flourishing condition, endeavoured to continue the same, causing justice to be duly administered, so that no injury (especially toward the poor) was left unpunished; and ordaining that such as by swearing unadvisedly blasphemed the name of Almighty God, or in cursing called upon the devil, or wished the devil to take any Christian, should be bored through the tongue with an hot iron. In his reign Gormand, a Dane, landed a considerable army in Northumberland, pitching his camp near the shore without doing any damage to the country, so that it was uncertain whether he intended to begin a conquest there, or to make war upon the English; upon which Donald hastened toward the place, but in the way had notice that they were passed over Humber, and marched farther into England to subdue that country; whereupon, in pursuance of the treaty lately made, Donald sent five thousand men to Alfred's assistance, who soon after fought with Gormand at Alington, where, after a bloody battle, the victory remained to the English, yet with so great loss, that they were not able to pursue their enemies, but were forced to conclude a peace immediately with them, upon condition that the Danes should inhabit in England, so they would be baptized into the christian religion; and pledges being given for security on both sides, Gormand received baptism, and changed his name to Athelstane, during whose life peace continued betwixt the two nations.

At this time several thieves coming out of Ross in the night, went secretly into Murrayland, from whence they fetched much booty: at first, those of Murrayland resisted them as they were able, but after calling their neighbours to assist them, they skirmished in such a manner, that above two thousand were slain of both parties. Donald, offended at this notorious breach of the peace, raising strong forces, marched toward them, where he seized, condemned, and executed the ringleaders of this disturbance, and from thence went into Northumberland to be in readiness, if the Danes and English should attempt any thing against his subjects in those parts,

which he then suspected, where, after he had reigned eleven years, he died in 905.

XXXVI. Constantine the Third, the son of Ethus, called Swift-foot, was next advanced to the royal dignity, whose nature was more inclined to peace than war: King Edward, who succeeded Alfred in England, being sensible thereof, sent an herald at arms, commanding him to restore Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, which King Gregory had taken from the English by reason of their domestic troubles, or otherwise to expect war at his hands within forty days after this summons. Constantine returned answer, That if King Edward were resolved to make war for those lands which he enjoyed by just right and title, he and his people would be ready to defend themselves, beseeching God Almighty to revenge the bloodshed upon those who had unjustly raised the quarrel. Hereupon some slight inroads and skirmishes happened between them for about a year, when the power of the Danes increasing, Edward, by the persuasion of his Lords, proposed terms of peace, which were willingly accepted by Constantine, and the league was renewed.

The war soon after was renewed betwixt the English and Danes, and a peace again confirmed by a marriage between Sirick, King of Northumberland, and Beatrice, King Edward's daughter, till at length Sirick was poisoned by his wife; and because Aulaff and Godfrey, the sons of Sirick, put Beatrice to death for the murder, Edward made war against them, and vanquished them, though with the loss of his own life. The Danes being certified of King Edward's death, made new preparations for war, and Aulaff persuaded Constantine to join with him against the English, who sent them an army, commanded by Malcolm, son of King Donald the Third, of twenty thousand men, wherewith they concluded absolutely to destroy the English nation; Malcolm being at the same time proclaimed heir apparent of Scotland, and had Cumberland assigned him for maintaining his grandeur; and it was then ordained, that the successor to the crown should ever after enjoy that title and province. Malcolm joining his forces with Aulaff and Godfrey, they marched into the English borders, not sparing for any cruelty or outrage against the innocent inhabitants, murdering them and burning their houses without all pity, boasting that they did this to provoke the English to come into the field, and revenge the blood of their friends and kindred, confidently presuming that they were never able to withstand the united force of the Scots and Danes; but

the more villainy they committed, the sooner they brought punishment upon themselves;

For Athelstane, the natural son of King Edward, succeeding his father, sought with all speed to revenge these horrid insolences, and raising an army, he encountered them at a place called Bromingfield in 947, where the English at first pretended to fly, and their enemies supposing they had done so really, broke all their ranks to pursue them; when the English, according to former orders, rallying, beat them down in great numbers, and obtained a triumphant victory, twenty thousand Scots and Danes being slain, with Wilfert, King of the Guentes, Hanwall, King of the Britains, and seven dukes who came to their assistance. Athelstane following his blow, recovered the three counties which his father demanded, the people then promising faith and allegiance to him. Malcolm was much wounded in the battle, yet made his escape, and was carried home in an horse-litter, declaring to Constantine the whole proceedings in the battle; who thereupon calling a council, and perceiving his kingdom much weakened for want of the nobility, on whom the late slaughter fell very heavily, they thinking it more honourable to die in the field than cowardly to fly, whereby most of them were cut off, he therefore concluded, that the rest being young and unexperienced, neither able by force nor counsel to defend the realm, there was no hope of preserving the same, and despairing of power for resistance, to free himself from danger and trouble, he resigned the kingdom, betaking himself to a contemplative life, and became a canon in the abbey of St. Andrew's, in the year of our Lord 945, and the fortieth of his reign, where he in a short time died.

In his twenty-seventh year a monster was born of both sexes, with a head like a swine, feet of a goose, and legs like a man, full of bristles, and of an horrid shape; another was born in Northumberland of the male sex, one belly and two thighs, and two legs from the belly downward, but divided upward into two entire bodies, and appeared to have two contrary humours, for when one slept the other waked, when one eat the other would fast, so that they always quarrelled, beating and tearing each other with their nails; at length one dying after long sickness, the other not able to endure the filthy stench of the dead body, died likewise soon after: about the same time a fountain of blood issued out of the side of a mountain in Galloway in great abundance for seven days together, so that all the rivers in that country, whereof there are plenty, had their water mixed with blood, which running into the sea,

caused it to seem bloody some miles from the shore ; all which were thought to pre-signify that fatal overthrow at Broomfield aforementioned.

XXXVII. Malcolm, the son of Donald the Third, succeeded Constantine, who finding the kingdom much weakened by the late great losses, studied chiefly to secure the borders of his kingdom, and to that end resolved to maintain peace with the English ; and designing to send ambassadors to that purpose, he had notice that King Athelstane had given Northumberland to Aulaff the Dane, and had entered a league with him to assist him against the Scots, with which news Malcolm was much surprised, being sensible of the want of valiant commanders ; however, calling a counsel, they could resolve upon nothing, but while they continued in great perplexity, they had intelligence that a dissention happening in the camp, the English and Danes had fought a most bloody battle, wherein the English were victors, who pursued the Danes till night prevented them. Aulaff with his broken troops, fled into Westmoreland, and getting what ships they could, sailed to the Isle of Man, which having plundered, they passed from thence to Ireland.

Athelstane having lost many of his soldiers, continued in Northumberland without marching into Scotland, great rejoicing being made in that country for so happy a deliverance by such a strange accident ; at length he sent ambassadors to Malcolm to treat of peace, which was gladly accepted by the Scots, and the former league was soon after renewed and confirmed, with only this article added, " That Northumberland being now chiefly inhabited by Danes, should remain in possession of the English, and Westmoreland and Cumberland to the Scots, provided that he who should succeed to the crown of Scotland should do homage to the King of England as his vassal for the same, ever after. Peace being thus concluded, Indulph, the son of Constantine the Third, was proclaimed Prince of Cumberland and Heir Apparent. Malcolm continued some years in quietness, striving to advance the good and profit of his people ; but at length making a progress through his kingdom, and causing justice to be severely executed against offenders, he was murdered in the night by a few conspirators in the fifteenth year of his reign, 960. The conspirators, upon diligent inquiry, being discovered, suffered such a cruel death as they deserved for so villainous a murder, being torn in pieces with wild horses, and their quarters set upon the gates of several cities for a terror to regicides.

XXXVIII. Indulph, Prince of Cumberland, was next crowned in the marble chair at Scone. His first five years passed over without any considerable action; but then Aulaff the Dane sent to join in amity with him against the English, in revenge of the overthrow at Bromingfield, alleging, that a fit opportunity was now offered, since after the death of Athelstane the English had created Edmond to be their King, a man of a dull wit, and unfit for government; neither ought the league between Malcolm and Athelstane be any impediment to him, because it expired with their lives. Indulph replied, "That that league was concluded with much deliberation, and by consent of all the states of the realm, and ratified with their solemn oaths for the true performance thereof, so that they could not violate it without incurring the just indignation of heaven against him and his people." Aulaff looking on Indulph as a slothful and negligent person, since he valued the breach of an oath, when it was for his advantage, sent for more forces from Norway, who landing in Northumberland, Elgerine, the English governor, declaring himself to be descended of Danish blood, treacherously yielded up all the towns, castles and forces in that country to Aulaff, engaging to aid him to the utmost against King Edmond, who having notice thereof, raised a potent army, and sending for aid from Scotland in pursuance of the late treaty, Indulph instantly ordered him ten thousand Scots, who together fell upon the Danes, and routed them at the first onset, making a great slaughter in the pursuit. Elgerine was taken alive, according to Edmond's desire, and for his treason was drawn in pieces with wild horses.

Soon after the Kings of Norway and Denmark came with a mighty navy upon the coasts of Scotland to revenge the deaths of their countrymen, designing to land at the Forth, but being beaten off there, they made a descent in Bucquain. Indulph marched toward them with powerful forces, and after an obstinate fight, forced them to fly, a multitude of them being slain. The King with certain choice troops, pursuing the chace very hard, happened to fall in among a number of Danes, who fled from the field at the beginning of the fight, by one of whom he was shot through the head with a dart, and immediately died, though not before he was revenged of his enemies, every man of them being slain upon the place. He reigned nine years and died thus valiantly, though unfortunately, in the year of Christ, 969.

XXXIX. Duffe, the son of King Malcolm, was next invested in the kingdom; in the beginning of whose reign Cullen, the son of

Indulph was proclaimed Prince of Cumberland; he first went over into the Western Isles, and purged the country of those malefactors who robbed and oppressed the husbandmen and people, causing a great number of them to be executed, the rest flying for security into Ireland, or else forced to follow some trade, which severity much discontented the nobility, many of them being of great families, and they murmured that it was unbecoming them to work for their livelihoods; they likewise complained, that the King was only a friend to the commons and clergy, but neglected his nobles, and was therefore unworthy to govern them: these discourses were familiar with them throughout the kingdom.

In the mean time the King fell sick of a strange languishing disease, which his physicians could in no wise understand, for though they saw no reason, yet his body consumed away; he looked well and lusty, eat and drank very well, but could get no sleep nor rest by any means whatsoever, falling into exceeding great sweats, which could no way be prevented: at length it was advised to send for some physicians from other countries who might better discover the nature of his distemper; yet though he had little hopes of recovery, he administered the laws justly to his people, but when it was known what danger he was in, several discontented persons raised a rebellion in Murrayland, killing divers of the King's officers, and committing several cruel outrages, though the physicians would not admit him to have knowledge thereof. It happened at this time there was some discourse among the people, though none knew the author, that the King's sickness was not natural, but caused by sorcery and magic practised by a company of witches living at a town called Fores in Murrayland, which being brought to the King's ear, he presently sent several knowing men, who not discovering their design, were received privately in the dark into the castle of Fores by the governor named Donwald, who kept it faithfully for the King against the rebels, to whom declaring their intent, they desired his assistance. Now the thing had been whispered in the castle before; for one of the soldiers keeping a young wench for his concubine, who was daughter to one of the witches, she had told him all the proceedings of her mother, and the rest of the witches, and that the design was to make away the King.

Having discovered this to Donwald, the wench confirmed it, and disclosed the house where the mischief was done, which they broke into at midnight, found one of the witches roasting an image of wax

at the fire upon a wooden spit, resembling the King's person, and another witch sat by basting of it with a certain liquor, and mumbling some words of enchantments; being seized and examined, they confessed their design was to destroy the King, for as that image wasted, so did the King's body break forth into sweat and wasted away, that the words of incantation were to hinder him from sleeping, and when the wax was quite melted, then should the King die; that they were taught it by evil spirits, and hired to act this villainy by the lords of Murrayland: hereupon the image was broke, and the witches burned to death, as they justly deserved. It was said, that the very instant when this was acted at the castle of Fores, the King was absolutely freed from his distemper, sleeping that night without sweating, and the next day was perfectly restored to his health and strength, as if he had never been sick.

Upon his recovery he raised forces, and routed the rebels in Murrayland, pursuing and apprehending divers of them, whom he caused to be hung up on high gibbets, among whom were divers young gentlemen of good quality, and a-kin to Donwald, the governor of Fores castle, whose pardon he used all means possible to obtain of the King; but receiving a positive denial, he conceived such desperate hatred and malice against him, that nothing but his death could appease. For the King being still in that country, he used commonly to lodge in the castle, because of the great confidence and trust he had in Donwald, who could never forget the reproach of his family to have his kinsmen hung up for a spectacle to the people, the thoughts whereof continually disturbed him, so that his wife observing it, would never cease till she understood the reason thereof, which when he had declared, she being no less incensed against the King than he, urged and persuaded him thereto, contriving how it might be done, which he agreeing to, watched his opportunity. It happened that the night before the King intended to depart the castle, he was very late in his oratory at prayers, and at last coming out, he called those who had been most serviceable in suppressing the late rebels before him, and giving them hearty thanks, bestowed divers rich gifts among them, and particularly to Donwald, whom he accounted one of his most faithful servants; then going to bed, his chamberlains left him, and went to banquet with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared several delicate dishes for them, where they eat and drank so heartily that they fell into a dead sleep.

Donwald (though his heart misgave him, and he abhorred the fact, yet by the instigation of his wife who provoked him thereto,) called four of his servants, whom he had formerly prepared for the villainy, and ordered them now to perform it, who entering the chamber, privately cut his throat as he lay sleeping, without any noise at all, and immediately carried the body out of a postern gate into the fields, and throwing it on a horse there ready, they conveyed it two miles further, where they stayed, and got some labourers to help them to turn the course of a little river, and digging a deep hole in the channel, buried the body therein, filling it up with great stones, very hard and close, and then turning the water into its right course, none could perceive there had been any new digging in the least; the labourers had no sooner finished their work but they murdered them, and instantly fled to the Isles of Orkney.

Donwald, while the murder was acting, got amongst the guard, where he continued all night: in the morning when an outcry was made, that the King was slain, his body conveyed away, and the bed all stained with blood, he ran thither with the guard, as though he had been utterly ignorant of the matter, and rushing into the chamber, finding cakes of blood on the bed and the floor, he killed the chamberlains as guilty of this heinous crime, and then ran about like a madman, as if to discover the murderers; and finding the postern door open, he then charged the dead chamberlains with the deed, they having the keys of the gates in their custody, and that it could not be done without their privity; yea so over-diligent was he in his inquisition, that the lords began to suspect him guilty thereof, though they durst not discover the least sign thereof, being within his power and jurisdiction. Six months after this horrid murder, the sun did not shine by day, nor the moon by night, in any part of the realm, the sky being continually covered with black thick clouds, and outrageous thunderings, lightning, and tempest, so that the people were in great fear of utter destruction. This was the miserable end of King Duffe, when he had reigned four years in 973.

XL. Cullen, the son of Indulph, Prince of Cumberland, attended with many of the nobility, went to Scone, where he was crowned King, and demanding of the bishops the cause of such intemperate weather, they unanimously answered, that no doubt it was because of the just anger of the Almighty for the murder of King Duffe, and unless the murderers were sought out and punished, worse judgments might be expected. Cullen ordered them to appoint public pro-

cessions and fasts for the discovery, and took a solemn vow before them all, never to cease till he had fully avenged his blood upon the traitorous inhabitants of Murrayland; the people there present getting to their arms, resolved to follow their prince, who presently marched toward that country: the people thereof trembling at his approach, but especially Donwald, though there was not the least suspicion of him, yet his conscience accusing him, and fearing to be put to the torture, he secretly fled from his family, with only a few to accompany him, and getting to the river Spey, went into a ship, designing to fly into Norway.

Cullen having advice hereof, passed over Spey water, and taking the castle of Fores, slew all within it, and then ransacked and burned it to the ground. Donwald's wife and two daughters were taken alive, according to the King's desire, and the mother being put upon the rack, confessed the whole matter, and that her husband did it chiefly by her provocation, who they were that performed it, by his order, and where they buried him. Whilst this was doing, news came that Dongal was by shipwreck cast ashore within four miles of the castle, who being seized and bound by the inhabitants, was brought to the King; presently after divers lords of Ross brought in Donwald's four servants who executed the murder; thus all the offenders being taken and brought together to the very same place where the murder was both contrived and committed, they were arraigned, condemned, and executed in the manner following, to the great rejoicing of the people, who magnified the justice of heaven therein; they were first scourged by the hangman, and then embowelled, their entrails being burned before their eyes, and their quarters sent into several parts of the kingdom. This dreadful end had Donwald and his wife, before they saw sun or moon after the wickedness committed; those that seized the murderers were highly rewarded, and freed for ever from all taxes, charges, or going to the wars.

Then was the body of King Duffe taken up and conveyed with all magnificence to Colmkill, accompanied all the way by Cullen and all his lords spiritual and temporal, with a multitude of others. Some write, that though the corps had been buried six months, yet was it nothing altered in colour or otherwise, but as sound and whole as if alive; and that as soon as it was brought above ground, the air cleared up, the sun broke forth, shining brighter than ever could be remembered, and thereupon many flowers sprung up in the fields, contrary to the season of the year. In that place a church

was after built, and called Killflies, or the church of flowers, to this day, in memorial thereof. This year several horses in Lothian, of singular beauty and swiftness, did eat their own flesh, and would taste no other food: in Angus, a child was born without eyes, nose, hands, or feet; a sparrow hawk was strangled by an owl; which were all judged monstrous presages of future ill.

Cullen began his reign with the execution of just judgment, which gave great hope of his future government; but soon after he fell into all kind of wantonness and lasciviousness, which encouraged the youthful nobility and gentry to commit many unreasonable extravagancies, and to abuse priests, merchants, and others, of which they could have no redress; for several of the most grave and ancient peers being grieved thereat, made bold humbly to admonish him of his duty, and declared the danger of the realm by such strange disorders. Cullen answered, "I am very sensible that young men cannot be easily persuaded to act like those that have hoary heads, till time and old age cause them to be grave and sober; neither do I think it convenient to use such rigor toward them, as some of my predecessors have done, having learned by the example of Indulph, Duffe, and others, what danger I may incur by such severity in government, I being resolved to rule so that I may be rather beloved than feared, which I judge to be the only means to retain my subjects in due and faithful obedience."

Though this answer was very unsatisfactory, yet none durst presume to reply thereto, so that all kind of excesses abounded, the king only inclining to flatterers and those that could devise provocations to lust, wherein he was so extreme, that he altogether abandoned himself thereto, sparing neither widow, wife, nor maid, religious, nor others; yea, so shameless indeed, that when he was so tired with lewdness as he could act no more, he took exceeding pleasure to behold others perform it in his presence, thereby to stir up his impotent and decayed lust. This life he continued for three years, neglecting the execution of all manner of laws, whereby thieves and robbers increased and committed many horrid insolences, under which the people groaned. At length he fell into a languishing decay of nature, caused by his former debaucheries, whereby his flesh rotted away and he appeared like a dead carcase, insomuch that his own servants abhorred him; whereupon the ancient nobility summoned a parliament at Scone, designing to depose him. Cullen not knowing their intent, was going thither; but in the midst of his journey at Aleffen castle, he was murdered by one Cadhard, lord of

the place, whose daughter he had formerly ravished, amongst divers others. He reigned five years, and was slain in 978.

XLI. Kenneth the Third, the son of Malcolm, was next proclaimed king, who had enough to do to reduce the people from that wild and savage kind of life they had fallen into, by the negligence of his predecessor. He maintained amity with strangers, and obliged his subjects to follow some lawful employment; and resolving to punish some notorious offenders, he appointed a sessions at Lanerick, causing the principal of them to be summoned thither; but at their coming, perceiving they should be certainly convicted of several notorious crimes, they privately withdrew into the western isles for security. The King perceiving that by the disloyalty of those criminal lords and gentry he could not duly administer justice, dissembled his present indignation, dismissing the assembly, and marched into Galloway. The next year contriving how to bring these misdoers to judgment, he appointed all the nobility to assemble at Scone, as if to consult about some weighty affairs. The night before they were to meet, he caused some of his faithful servants to lie privately hid in the council chamber, completely armed, with order to their captain not to stir till all the lords were come the next day, and then to do according to command. In the morning, the lords were no sooner met, and placed according to their degree near the King, but the armed men encompassed them; at which being much affrighted, the King perceiving their surprise, spake to them to this sense:—

“ I would not have you imagine that I have caused these soldiers to come into this council chamber out of any sinister design against your persons, but only for the preservation of the kingdom; for it is not unknown to you that there are a pernicious kind of people, and very dangerous to the realm, confederated and associated together, who, by common consent, make it their practice to commit all kind of mischiefs, and exercise all manner of oppressions against the poor commons; they rob, spoil, and plunder them of all their substance; they ravish their wives, daughters, and maid servants, and oft times burn their houses to the ground; which bold and uncontrolled outrages, what danger they brought to the whole Scottish commonwealth, for want of due punishment in the days of King Cullen, none here can be ignorant of. Let us consider that the nobility and gentry are maintained by the labour of the commons, and if they, by robberies and injuries, should be forced to give over their labour, how should the lords and gentry have wherewith to

live so? That they who wrong the husbandman, rob them likewise; and those who abet and encourage such idle rascals as are used to rob the poor, promote the destruction both of King, lords, and gentlemen, and finally, of the whole state and nation: those, therefore, that love the common good, will not only endeavour to defend the commons from the daily wrongs offered them, but will likewise assist in bringing the robbers and oppressors to just punishment, according to the laws and customs of the land. The last year, you may remember, I desired your aid and counsel how to proceed against them. At Lanerick was the day appointed for their appearance, but they contemptuously disobeyed my commands, and none of them came; by whose contrivance I know not; but I have been informed that several of you favouring those rebels, because they are of your kindred, advised them to withdraw from judgment; and the frequent messages between you and them, seem very much to confirm the truth of this report; but, however, I have laid aside all suspicion, wishing you (as I hope you are) to be free from all dissimulation; and now I require you, and speak to you, not as favourers of the rebels, but as defenders of the commonwealth; that though haply, you have been somewhat slack formerly in discharge of your duty; you would for the future appear so forward and zealous in helping to apprehend the offenders, that the world may perceive you have made full satisfaction for your former errors, if you were before guilty of any. However, I am resolved not to remove those guards from securing you, till I have brought all those rebels to a full submission to my obedience and authority."

The lords hereby understanding the King's resolution, began at first to excuse themselves, and then falling at his feet, humbly begged pardon for their past faults, if they had any way offended his majesty, assuring him of their faithfulness and diligence in seizing the robbers; and the council breaking up, they were kept in the King's house, where, by their interest with their friends and kindred, they caused above five hundred of these malefactors to be seized, who were all hanged upon gibbets, there to remain for a terror to others. After which, the King licensed the lords to depart to their own houses, and the kingdom continued in peace long after, and had so remained, but that the Danes, with great forces, landed at a town called Montross in Angus, which being soon taken, was ransacked and burnt to the ground, castle and all, and neither man, woman, child, nor any other creature left alive by these barbarians. King Kenneth hearing these sad tidings, raised a potent army and

marched to meet them; and being come near each other, the King earnestly persuaded his soldiers to shew the utmost of their valour, promising to release them from all tributes and payments due to him for five years to come, and offering ten pounds, or the value thereof in land, to every man who should bring him the head of a Dane. He therefore exhorted them to fight courageously, and to remember there was no hope of mercy; for they must fight it out at the sword's point, and not expect any safety in flight, since their cruel enemies would certainly find them out wherever they were, if they should chance to be overthrown.

The Scots, encouraged with these words, fell on their enemies with great courage, and the fight was very bloody, the Scots being much hindered by attempting to cut off the heads of their adversaries, so that two of their wings were forced to give way, the main battle firmly keeping their ground, though in much danger, being thus left naked, so that the Danes must needs have been victors had not providence sent present relief. There happened at the same time to be a husbandman in the next field, with his two sons, busy at work, named Hay, of a strong robust body, but a noble and valiant mind. This man beholding the King and nobility fighting so desperately, caught a plough beam in his hand, and exhorting his sons to do the like, they hastened to the battle, resolving rather to die like men than to fall into the hands of cruel and unmerciful enemies. There was a lane near the place in which the flying Scots were beat down in heaps, here Hay and his sons placed themselves, beating down all that came in their way, and slaying them in great numbers, so that the Scots who fled, returned again, thinking there had been some new succours, and pursued the Danes back to their camp. The King perceiving his men encouraged and his enemies disheartened, called earnestly upon them to perform their parts, and since their adversaries' hearts began to fail, to pursue them manfully, and that assuredly they would obtain a glorious victory: which words giving them fresh vigour, they fought so stoutly, that the Danes were forced to leave the field, the Scots cutting off a multitude of them in the chase.

This victory was much ascribed to the courage of the nobility, but especially to the admirable valour of Hay and his sons, and therefore a great part of the spoil in the Danish camp was given to him by the soldiers. The King having vanquished his enemies, as he was to enter into Bertha, offered costly garments to Hay and his sons, that being richly clothed they might be the more honoured of

the people; but Hay absolutely refused to change his clothes, and so marched into the city with the King, carrying his plough-beam upon his shoulder, being received with little less honour than the King himself, all running to behold him who so valiantly restored the battle, when it was almost lost past recovery. A while after, at a council held at Scone, it was ordained, that Hay and his posterity should be reckoned among the nobility and peers of the realm, and gifts and lands were bestowed upon them suitable to their estates. It is said, that by the advice of his sons, who understood the fruitfulness of the soil, Hay required so much land in those parts where the river Tay runs by the town of Errol over against Fife, as a falcon should fly over at one flight; which request being freely granted by the King, Inshire was the place appointed for the falcon to be cast off, who never lighted till she came to a great stone near Ross, not far from Dundee; whereby, all the country between Inshire and that stone, being almost six miles in length and four in breadth, fell to Hay and his sons, the stone being called Falcon's Stone, and the same land continuing in the possession of the Hays to this very day; and the plough-beam was added to his arms instead of a battle axe.

These things happened in the first year of King Kenneth. Afterward, a quarrel arising upon a small occasion, raised great trouble: Cruthlint, one of the chief lords of Murray, son to a lady called Fewella, who was daughter to Crunet, governor of Angus, coming to visit his grandfather at his castle of Delbogin, a fray happened among the attendants, wherein two of Cruthlint's servants were slain, who complaining thereof to his grandfather, he answered him very reproachfully, as if he had occasioned the disturbance. Crunet's servants observing their master's carriage, fell upon Cruthlint himself, and beat him so severely, that he escaped with great danger of his life. In his return he came to his mother Fewella at her castle, at Fethercarn, who so incensed him, that having got together a number of people, he went privately toward the castle, and was admitted by the guard, who, with his followers, immediately killed his grandfather, Crunet, and every one else within the castle, ransacking and rasing it to the ground; the next day he foraged all the country about, returning home with great booty, which others revenged, so that much mischief was done; wherewith, Kenneth, much displeased, hereby discovering the nature of the Scots, who must be always governed with a strict hand, and getting forces together, he pursued and at last took Cruthlint and his accomplices; he

and the principal of them were presently condemned and executed, the commons being pardoned, as acting by the example of the great ones; for which impartial justice he was applauded by the people.

At this time, Kenneth, out of a great desire to advance his children, caused Malcolm, the son of King Duffe, his nearest kinsman, to be made away, (who, in the beginning of his reign was created prince of Cumberland, and so heir apparent to the crown) though Kenneth dissembled his knowledge thereof, and buried him with much honour and seeming sorrow. About the same time, ambassadors came from the King of England, desiring, that since Malcolm was dead, the King and States would appoint another in his stead, who might do homage for the county of Cumberland, according to the late league. Kenneth called a council to advise about it, to whom he made a long oration, persuading them to alter the ancient custom of electing their princes, because of the great dangers and inconveniences thereof, and to make an act for the crown to descend by succession, according to the usage of other nations; to which the peers of the realm being before prepared and made sensible of the King's resolution, seemed willingly to agree, Constantine, the son of King Cullen, and Grime, the nephew of King Duffe, first assenting thereto, though by the former law they were in a likelihood to have succeeded, but since it could not be prevented, they thought it safest to seem willing to comply at this time: in pursuance hereof an act was made, "That the heir male of the deceased King, whether son or nephew, of what age soever he should be, yea, though he were in his mother's womb at the time of the father's death, he should succeed; and during his minority, one of the principal noblemen should govern his person and the realm till he came to fourteen years of age. The nephew by the son to be preferred before the nephew of the daughter, and the brother's son before the sister's." Lastly, Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, was created prince of Cumberland, and heir apparent to the kingdom.

Kenneth by this law seemed confident that he had assured the crown to his posterity, whereby all men thought him now in a happy state, except himself, for it is recorded, that soon after, as he was in bed one night, he heard a frightful voice utter words to this purpose—"Think not, O Kenneth, that the wicked murder of Malcolm Duffe, contrived by thee, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternal God: thou art he who didst conspire the death of that innocent prince, treacherously perpetrating that against thy neighbour, which thou wouldst have cruelly revenged upon any other

if designed against thyself; it shall therefore come to pass, that both thou and thy issue, by the just vengeance of Almighty God, shall suffer deserved punishment, to the utter ruin of thy posterity and family for evermore; for even at this present there are secret contrivances in hand to dispatch thee and thy issue out of the way, that others may enjoy that kingdom which thou didst endeavour to secure to thy posterity." The King being extremely astonished at these words, passed that night without sleep, and the next morning went to Bishop Morean, a man of great holiness of life, to whom he confessed all the circumstances of this heinous offence, desiring counsel how to appease the wrath of heaven against him; who observing his great penitence, comforted him by telling him, that as God was provoked by sin and wickedness, so he was pacified by repentance and amendment; whereupon the King submitted to all the Bishop's injunctions and penances, declaring himself a true penitent, according to the devotion of that age.

Not long after, Kenneth having been at a town called Ferdune, to visit the relics of Bishop Palladius, went a little out of his way to lodge at the castle of Pethercarn, where he was entertained by Fewella, the lady thereof aforementioned, whose son Cruthlint he had put to death; she was likewise akin to Malcolm Duffe, who was murdered, and to Constantine and Grime, who were defrauded of their right by Kenneth's new law; for all these injuries, this lady had for a long time conceived an immortal hatred against the King, (though she did not yet certainly know how Malcolm came by his death) and understanding he much delighted in curious buildings, to execute her wicked purpose, she caused a tower to be made next her own lodging in the castle, which was covered over with copper, finely engraven with flowers and images, and hung with cloth of arras very richly; behind the hangings, divers cross-bows were fixed, with sharp arrows in them ready bent to discharge; in the midst of the room was placed an admirable brazen image, exactly resembling the person of Kenneth, holding in his hand a curious golden apple, gloriously beset with precious stones, contrived with such extraordinary art, that as soon as any one should take hold, or remove it never so little, the cross-bows would immediately discharge all their arrows at him with great force and violence.

Fewella having provided this bloody present for the King, she after dinner desired him to go into that inner room: being entered, he was surprised with the sumptuousness of the furniture; at last,

viewing the image, he demanded what it signified. Fewella replied, "The image represented his highness's own person, and the golden apple, so richly set with smaragds, jacinths, sapphires, topazes, rubies, turkisses, and other precious stones, she hath provided as a gift for him, humbly beseeching him to accept thereof, though not worthy to be presented to a person of his high honour and dignity." She then withdrew on one side to avoid the danger; the King continued admiring the beauty of the apple, and attempting to take it with his hand more particularly to observe it, the cross-bows immediately discharged the arrows so directly upon him, that he fell down stark dead upon the ground. Fewella seeing him fall, got out at a back door, and flying into the adjoining woods, where she had ordered horses to wait for her, she mounted and escaped out of danger before the King's death was discovered: his servants waited long for his return in the outward room, but he not coming, they first rapped softly, and then more loudly at the door, but nobody appearing they suspected the worst, and broke open the doors, where they found the King quite dead on the floor; upon which an outcry being raised, Fewella was cursed and searched for in all places as the author of this horrid deed, but she could never after be heard of: some judged that Constantine conveyed her into Ireland, for the desire he had to succeed; because when the King's death was known, he procured the assistance of all his friends for attaining the crown, according to the ancient ordinance of the realm, which he said could not be abrogated by the private authority of Kenneth or any other. This miserable end had Kenneth, after twenty-five years reign, in the year of our Lord 1003.

XLII. Constantine the Fourth, the son of King Cullen, by the assistance of several of the nobility, was come to Scone and there crowned king the thirteenth day after Kenneth's death, in which year there were found a multitude of fishes upon the coast of Buquan, left by the sea, which putrifying, caused great sickness. The moon appeared like blood, very terrible to behold; in England and France it rained stones. Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, hearing that Constantine had usurped the crown contrary to the late statute, by the rash advice of some young heads gathered all the forces he could, being about ten thousand men, and marched toward Constantine; but finding himself too weak, he dismissed his army and went into England, leaving Kenneth, his bastard brother, to watch Constantine's motions; between whom soon after a bloody battle was fought, at which time such a furious tempest of wind drove the

same so violently into the faces of Constantine's men, that they were able to make no resistance, but were vanquished; yet had neither side any cause to rejoice, for Constantine and Kenneth happening to encounter, and fighting singly, killed each other. Thus Constantine ended his life in the third year of his reign, 1005.

XLIII. Grime, the nephew of King Duffe, hearing of this slaughter, mustered up the residue of Constantine's army, and coming with them to Scone, caused himself to be crowned King, as lawful successor to Constantine, using all kind of friendship toward his predecessor's friends, and giving likewise gifts and lands to those of Malcolm's party; but others who would not be won, he proclaimed traitors, and seized their estates. Malcolm having notice of Grime's coronation, raised a potent army, and marched toward him; but by the intercession of some bishops on each side, an agreement was made, whereby Grime was to enjoy the crown during life, and Malcolm to succeed him, and to continue Prince of Cumberland, with the lands thereto belonging, till that time, whereby for eight years peace continued in the realm; but Grime, from a chaste and liberal prince, degenerated into a covetous and cruel oppressor; for having put to death divers of his lords to obtain their lands, he exacted so severely upon his subjects, that they were brought into great misery. The nobility, swelling with indignation, appointed some to wait upon him, who having audience, one of them thus delivered their meaning:

"Sir, we are sent from the rest of the nobles and peers of the realm, humbly to admonish you of some things which tend to the welfare and safety thereof; namely, that since by the persuasion of evil counsellors, several great enormities and oppressions are daily committed by your officers and ministers, to the utter impoverishment and ruin of many of your faithful subjects, they humbly beseech you to remove those disloyal persons from your presence, who are so pernicious to the kingdom, whereby you will regain the love of your loyal people, who cannot but repine at the present misgovernment, as being thereby brought into such calamities, that they think it better to be dead than alive, if there be not a sudden reformation of those horrid extortions which your officers and servants daily practise, and for which no doubt you must answer, since the sword is committed to you, not to enrich the covetous and unjust, and crush the innocent and peaceable, but to bring such guilty robbers and offenders to condign punishment."

Grime having heard this oration, gave them fair words, and, under pretence of kindness, invited them to a banquet, designing to have seized them; of which having notice, they fled privately to Bertha to the rest of the nobility, who finding no hope of redress, raised a rebellion against him, which occasioned all kind of mischiefs; of which Malcolm, Prince of Cumberland, having intelligence, came out of England (where he was assisting King Etheldred against the Danes) with an army of Scots, the lords beseeched him to take pity on their miserable country, in danger of ruin by the disorders of Grime, who assenting thereto, he marched towards him; a fierce fight ensued, wherein Grime's party were routed, and himself slain: it is reported that Grime was taken alive, fighting courageously, and being much wounded in the head, his eyes were put out, of which he died a few days after in great misery, the ninth year of his reign, 1011.

XLIV. Malcolm having obtained the victory, called an assembly at Scone for electing a new King, who consenting to crown him, he absolutely refused it, unless they would, by their oaths, solemnly confirm Kenneth's law about the succession; to which they agreeing, he was crowned King by the name of Malcolm the Second. In his reign, a mighty army of Danes under Swain landed in England, and chased King Etheldred into Cumberland, who receiving aid from the Scots, fought with him, but was utterly overthrown with great loss, so that despairing of success he fled into Normandy. Swain having thus conquered England, resolved to root out all the English nation; which the lords of England having notice of, falling on their knees at his feet, humbly besought him to have compassion of their miserable condition, and though they had formerly been a puissant nation by sea and land, yet they would now be contented if he would only grant them their lives, and to continue under whatsoever servitude and bondage he would prescribe, desiring neither castles, towns, nor possessions, but only to live with their wives and children in their native country, at the pleasure of the conqueror. Swain, though of a cruel nature, yet was somewhat mollified, and allowed them their lives upon these terms, but withal disarmed them, and made them absolute slaves to his soldiers, yea, forced every Englishman to maintain a Dane in his house for a spy upon his words and actions, to prevent conspiracies, who was called in honour Lord Dane, and after in contempt Lurdain.

Having so easily subdued England, the ambition of the Danes spurred them on to invade Scotland, which they did in great num-

bers, between whom and King Malcolm divers bloody battles were fought with various success, in one of which Malcolm's head-piece was beaten so fast on his head, that he was carried out of the field for dead: at length the Scots were so weakened, that they were glad to conclude a peace, and the realm was restored to quietness. Malcolm then called a parliament at Scone, wherein he divided the realm into baronies, bestowing them upon those who had best deserved in the late wars, or whose fathers or friends were slain therein, reserving little to the crown but commons and forests, with the mountain whereon the marble coronation chair stood, and a few other lands. The nobility, on the other side, that the King might have wherewith to maintain his royal dignity, granted to him and his successors for ever the wardship of their heirs, if they should die before their children were twenty-one years old; that he should enjoy the rents and profits of their estates till they were of that age, and then they were to pay the King one year's rent beforehand; and if they married before twenty-one, it should be with the King's consent, or else they were to compound with him for the same: these and many other good laws were made, which Malcolm caused to be written and published in a book called *Regiam Majestatem*, by which the people might know how the realm was governed.

Thus did the King abound in divers noble virtues for some time, so that he might have been reckoned one of the best princes in Scotland, had not these excellent qualities been stained with the hateful vice of covetousness, which caused him to repine at his liberality towards the barons; and thereupon he contrived many false and fained accusations against divers of the richest, putting some to death, and banishing others, to enjoy their lands. The nobility seeing their danger, since none of their lives were safe, conspired to take away his; of which having secret notice he fled to Glamis, but being betrayed by some of his own servants, who admitted the conspirators into his lodging, he was there slain in revenge of the death of their friends. The murderers presently fled, but missing their way, the ground being then covered with snow, they came to the lake of Forfar, which was then frozen over, and attempting to pass it, when they were in the middle the ice broke, and they were all drowned; yet three bodies were after found, and being quartered, were set up in several cities and towns for a warning to traitors. Thus died King Malcolm, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, in 1035. At this time, on Christmas day, was a great earthquake in the town of Sterling, and the ground opening, so mighty a stream

of water issued thereout, that it carried away a wood adjoining to the river Forth. In the summer the sea came higher into the land than ere before without any apparent cause; on Midsummer day was so vehement a frost, that the corn and fruits were blasted, from whence a great dearth followed.

XLV. Duncan, the nephew of Malcolm, by his daughter Beatrice, succeeded in the government, who was married to Crinen, Thane or Lord of the Isles, whose son Duncan was. Malcolm had another daughter called Doda, married to Synel, Lord of Glammis, by whom she had Macbeth, a valiant gentleman, but cruel; whereas Duncan was of too mild a nature, the beginning of his reign was very peaceable, but when his remissness in punishing offenders was observed, it caused many seditious commotions, one of which thus began: Banquo, Thane or Earl of Lochaber, (from whom proceeded the royal family of the Stewarts,) going thither to gather the King's tributes, and punishing some offenders severely, the people of that country assaulted him so violently that he hardly escaped with his life, robbing him of his money and goods, and wounding him very dangerously; of which complaint being made to the King, the offenders were sent for by a sergeant at arms: but to add to their villainy, they first abused, and then barbarously murdered the officer; after which despairing of pardon, they persuaded one Macdonald, a great man among them, to be their captain, and raised an open rebellion, reproaching the King, and calling him a faint-hearted milksop, fitter to govern idle lazy monks in a cloister, than such stout and valiant men as the Scots. The King sent some forces against them, but they being much superior in number, cut them all off, and beheaded Malcolm their commander. This overthrow much startled the King, who calling a council, Macbeth severely reprehended the King's softness and neglect in punishing offenders, at length declared, that if a full commission were given to himself and Banquo, they would engage quickly to vanquish the rebels, which they accordingly performed, most of them flying from their captain, who yet being obliged to fight, was quickly routed, and flying to a castle wherein his wife and children were, desired terms for surrendering it, which being denied, to prevent a more cruel death, he first slew his wife and children, and then himself; upon which the gates being set open, Macbeth entered, and beheld this dreadful spectacle; yet he caused Macdonald's head to be cut off, and sent to the King to Bertha, and the body to be hanged on a high gibbet.

Soon after, Swain, King of Denmark, landed a great army in Fife, killing, burning, and ravaging all before him, whom Duncan meeting with a powerful army, was utterly discomfited by the Danes, the King flying to the castle of Bertha; yet Swain commanded after the fight that no man should be hurt or wronged, hoping to conquer the kingdom without more bloodshed, and then besieged the King in the castle, who sent private notice to Banquo and Macbeth to stay with their forces at such a place till further order. In the mean time Duncan pretended to treat with Swain about surrendering, and till the articles were agreed, he freely offered to send fresh provisions of victuals to the enemy's camp, and mixing the juice of a certain berry in the bread and drink, they sent a great quantity thereof to the Danish soldiers, who rejoicing thereat, eat and drank very heartily, till at length the operation of the berries caused them to fall into a dead sleep, that it was almost impossible to awake them. Duncan then sent for Banquo and Macbeth, who coming speedily to the place, made woeful slaughter among them, some never waking, and those that did were so giddy they could make no defence, so that of the whole army only Swain and ten more escaped, and got to their ships; the greatest part of the mariners hearing of such plenty came to the camp, and were slain also, so that Swain could only man one ship, wherewith he sailed back to Denmark, cursing his unhappy fate: after which a peace was concluded between the Scots and Danes.

About this time a strange adventure happened: Macbeth and Banquo travelling toward Fores, were met in a wood by three women in strange apparel, resembling people of another world, who coming up to them, the first saluting him, said, "All hail, Macbeth, Thane or Earl of Glammis, (which title he soon succeeded to by the death of his father Synel;)" the second said, "Hail, Macbeth, Thane of Cawdor;" the third, "All hail, Macbeth, who shall hereafter be King of Scotland." "This is very unkind," said Banquo, "to give all to my fellow, and nothing to me." "Yes," says the first, "thou shalt be more happy, for he indeed shall reign, but with an unfortunate end, and without any issue, and though thou shalt never be King, yet out of thy family shall proceed those who will be sovereigns of Scotland for many ages." This was at first accounted a vain illusion, so that Banquo would jestingly call Macbeth "King of Scotland;" and the other him, "the Father of many Kings." Soon after the Thane of Cawdor being condemned

and executed, his title and estate was by the King's liberality given to Macbeth, at which Banquo laughing, said, "Thou hast obtained two of the things promised by the witches, (or weird sisters, as the Scots call them;) there now remains only the third to be performed." Macbeth revolving these words in his mind, from that instant contrived to attain the crown. At this time Duncan having two sons by his wife, daughter to Syward, Earl of Northumberland, he created Malcolm the eldest Prince of Cumberland, and thereby heir apparent, at which Macbeth was much disturbed, resolving to force his way to the crown, since Duncan endeavoured, as he said, to defraud him of all title and claim thereto for the future, being much encouraged herein by the former prophecy, but especially by his wife, who had an insatiable ambition to become a Queen; communicating therefore his purpose to his trusty friends, whereof Banquo was chief, in confidence of their assistance, he murdered the King at Inverness in the sixth year of his reign, 1041.

XLVI. Macbeth being by his accomplices proclaimed King, went with them to Scone, where he was crowned. Malcolm, called Canmor, and Donald, called Baine, the two sons of Duncan, flying for fear of the usurper, the first to England, and the other to Ireland, where they both found kind entertainment. Macbeth then endeavoured to oblige his nobles with rich gifts, and used much diligence in executing justice upon thieves and plunderers, against whom he used this policy; he induced several of his good subjects, by great rewards, to challenge those who had most oppressed them to fight with them at a place and time appointed, for a proof of the truth of their accusations, who coming accordingly, were presently seized and hanged up according to their deserts; he caused the Lords of Caithnes, Sutherland, Strathnavern, Ross, and others, to be slain for their seditious attempts, and enacted divers good laws for the benefit of his subjects, so that had he had right to the crown, and continued his integrity to the last, he might have been accounted a gallant prince.

But he soon discovered his sanguine nature, and the words of the three sisters were never out of his mind, who promised the kingdom to the posterity of Banquo, which he resolved, if possible, to prevent, and to that end invited him and his son Fleance to supper, having appointed several murderers to kill them as they returned home, and accordingly Banquo was slain, but his son by the darkness of the night escaped and fled into Wales; upon which Macbeth would fain have had it believed that Fleance himself slew his father, and there made his

escape. Fleance grew much in favour with the prince of that country, and after with his daughter, that at length he got her with child, of whom was born Walter, who in a few years discovered a great spirit and courage; for one of his companions upbraiding him with his birth, he presently slew him, and then escaped into Scotland, where by his prudent carriage and valiant exploits he attained to be Lord High Steward of Scotland, from whose issue proceeded Robert Steward, who was crowned King of Scotland in the year of Christ, 1370, as hereafter appears.

Macbeth after this grew terrible to the people, judging their own lives continually in danger, and he as much suspected them, so that upon some pretended design or other he cut off all he thought endangered him, wherein at length he seemed to take much delight, being thereby freed from his enemies, and enriched by their estates, wherewith he kept a guard to secure his person, and for his greater safety he built a strong castle upon the top of Dunsinnan hill, so extremely high as to overlook all the countries round about, which being very chargeable in building, he commanded the lords of every shire to come and assist therein; at length it came to the turn of Macduff, Thane of Fife, who fearing the King would seize him as he did others, sent his workmen and provisions, but did not appear himself, which much offended Macbeth, who said, "I perceive this man will never obey my commands till he be rid with a bridle, and that I will take care to provide for him;" neither could he ever endure him afterward, fearing he might one day do him mischief, and had certainly put him to death, but that a witch whom he much credited assured him he should never be slain by a man born of a woman, nor be ever vanquished till Birnam wood (which was some miles of,) should come to Dunsinnan castle, which gave him such confidence, that he now acted without dread of any danger, since he thought it impossible he should be either slain or overcome.

Macduff finding his condition very uncertain, resolved to go into England to Malcolm Canmor, and persuade him to come and set up his claim to the crown of Scotland. Macbeth, who maintained a spy in every nobleman's house, had immediate notice of his purpose, and therefore presently marched with some forces to the castle where Macduff resided, thinking to have found him there; the gates were opened to him, they within suspecting no mischief, but not meeting Macduff, he in a rage caused his wife and children, with all in the castle, to be murdered, and then seized his goods and estate, proclaiming him traitor throughout the realm; but Macduff was already

escaped into England, where hearing of the miserable destruction of his house, he applied himself to Malcolm, representing the woeful state of the kingdom, by the cruelty and tyranny of Macbeth, for which he was mortally hated of the people, who groaned for deliverance from such intolerable slavery.

Malcolm was so moved at his discourse that he fetched a deep sigh, which Macduff perceiving, laboured earnestly to engage him to undertake the freedom of his country, having so just a title, and the earnest prayers and wishes of his subjects to assist him therein. Though Malcolm was much disturbed at the calamities of his countrymen, yet not being certain whether Macduff were sincere in his protestations, or that he were not sent by Macbeth to betray him, he resolved to try him somewhat further, and therefore thus replied: "I do assure you I am truly sorry for the miseries of my country, but though I were never so much inclined to relieve them, yet by reason of several incurable vices that reign in me, I am not a fit nor proper person to perform the same; for first I am so extreme libidinous, and given so much to sensual pleasure, which is the fountain of all mischiefs, that if I were made King, I should debauch all your virgins, wives and matrons, so that my intemperance would be more hardly supported than the bloody tyranny of Macbeth."

Macduff answered, "This is certainly a very great vice, for many valiant princes have lost both life and kingdom thereby; yet there are women enough in Scotland, and if you will be advised, and make yourself King, I will so order the matter that you shall enjoy your pleasure to the full, and yet so secretly that none shall know it." Malcolm added, "I am likewise the most covetous person upon the earth, so that I shall go nigh to destroy most of the nobles in Scotland by false pretences and accusations, that I may enjoy their estates and possessions, and to shew what mischief may happen by my insatiable avarice, I will tell you a story: There was a fox who having a sore place on his head, it was covered over with a swarm of flies, who continually sucked his blood, and when one who came by offered to drive them away, he would not admit it; for, (said he,) if these flies who are now full, and do not suck so eagerly, should be driven away, I shall have others lean and hungry presently settle in their places, who would suck out the rest of my blood, and be far more dangerous than these. Therefore, I say, suffer me to remain where I am, lest when I am advanced to the government my wretched covetousness should be so grievous, that your present condition

would seem easy in comparison with the outrages I should daily commit."

"This," says Macduff, "is a worse fault than the former; for covetousness is the root of all evil, and for which many princes have been brought to death and ruin, yet do but follow my council, and get the crown, and thou wilt find gold and silver enough in Scotland to satisfy thy most greedy desires." "Ay but," says Malcolm, "I am so extremely inclined to dissimulation, lying, and all kind of deceit, that I naturally rejoice in nothing so much as to betray and deceive those that put trust or confidence in me; now since nothing is more necessary in a prince than faithfulness, truth, and justice, you find I am hereby absolutely incapable to govern any people or country, and therefore since you have found remedies for my other notorious vices, pray provide a cloak for this as well as the rest." "Nay," replies Macduff, "this is worst of all; and here I leave you, and can only lament and say, Oh unhappy and miserable Scotchmen! who are plagued with so many great calamities, one upon another, ye have already one cursed tyrant, who now reigns over you without any right or title, oppressing you with his bloody cruelties; and this prince who hath right to the crown is so infected with treachery, inconstancy, and other English vices, that he is no way worthy to enjoy it, for by his own confession he is not only avaricious and lustful, but so false a traitor withal, that no belief is to be given to one word he speaks; what therefore shall I say? Farewell, Scotland, farewell, my native country, farewell for ever, for I shall account myself a banished man hereafter, without the least joy and consolation;" at which words the tears trickled down his cheeks again.

Being ready to depart, Malcolm plucked him back, and said "Be of good comfort, Macduff, for I am guilty of none of these vices, but have said all this only to try thee, since Macbeth hath used all manner of stratagems to get me into his hands; but the more slow I have seemed in condescending to thy request, the more diligence will I now use in accomplishing the same." Hereupon, strictly embracing each other, they entered into an entire friendship, and fell to consult the best methods to effect their business. Then Macduff, by letters secretly conveyed to the Scotch nobility, engaged them in Malcolm's interest, who, being assisted by Edward the Confessor, with ten thousand men under old Syward, Earl of Northumberland, marched into Scotland; and the people flocking in to him, Macbeth

durst not venture a battle, but fled into Fife, resolving to fortify himself in his castle of Dunsinnan. Some persuaded him to fly to the Isles to gain time, but he had such confidence in the prophecy, that he feared nothing. Malcolm followed him so hastily, that the night before the battle he came to Birnam Wood; the next morning he ordered every man to march with a great bough of a tree in his hand, that they might thereby come near their enemies without being discerned.



KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

Macbeth seeing them approach in this manner, admired at the meaning; but then he recollected that the prophecy, "That Birnam Wood should come to Dunsinnan castle," was now fulfilled. However, he marshalled his men for the fight, exhorting them to fight valiantly: but Malcolm's soldiers throwing down their branches, and Macbeth thereby perceiving their number, presently fled, whom Macduff pursued with great fury till he came to Lunfannin, when

Macbeth perceiving him just behind, leaped from his horse, saying, "Thou traitor, what dost thou thus follow me in vain, since I am not ordained to be killed by any one that is born of a woman? Come on therefore, and receive the just reward of thy pains;" and therewith he lift up his sword to have slain him; which, Macduff avoiding, answered, "Nay then, thy fatal period is at hand, and thy insatiate cruelty shall have an end, even as thy wizards have assured thee, for I am the man that was never born of my mother, but ripped out of her womb;" and therewith he stepped to Macbeth and slew him in the place; then cutting off his head, he brought it upon a pole to Malcolm. This end had Macbeth after he had reigned seventeen years, 1058, and in the sixteenth of King Edward the Confessor.

XLVII. Malcolm Canmor thus recovering the kingdom, was crowned at Scone, by the name of Malcolm the Third, and then called a parliament at Fores, where he rewarded those who had assisted him against Macbeth, with lands and honours, creating many earls, lords, and barons, according to the English mode. Macduff was made earl of Fife, with three privileges: First, That the earls of Fife should ever after put the crown on the King's head at his coronation. Second, That they should be always placed in the front of the battle. Third, That they should have absolute power to hear determine all causes within their own jurisdiction, treason excepted. Some add, it was granted, if any of that family should chance to kill a man, unless it were maliciously, he should be free, paying twenty-four marks. While the King was settling the realm, one Lugtake, called the Fool, cousin to Macbeth, with a great many of his adherents, was brought to Scone and there crowned King; but Macduff being sent against them, he soon dispersed them, Lugtake himself being slain. After this, Malcolm having notice that a gentleman designed to kill him, he took occasion to go a-hunting, and being in the forest he called this gentleman apart into the thickest part of the wood, where the King reproaching him for his traitorous purpose, considering the many kindnesses he had received, and therewith leaping from his horse, drew his sword, commanding the other to do the same, and told him, that having now convenient time and place, he might try his valour by open force, and not use cowardly treachery. The conspirator at this being confounded, fell down trembling at the King's feet, humbly begging pardon for his heinous intent; which the King frankly granted.

This year, 1066, William, duke of Normandy, invaded England, and in one battle conquered it, killing Harold, the usurper, and sixty-seven thousand Englishmen with him; pretending a title to the crown from the grant of King Edward the Confessor. This



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

King Edward, in his life-time, sent for his nephew Edward, son of his brother Edmund Ironside, out of Hungary, whither he had travelled, and there married Agatha, the daughter of the Emperor Henry, sister to the Queen of Hungaria; by whom he had a son, called Edgar, and two daughters. It is said, Edward designed Edgar to succeed him, and would have resigned to him during his life, which the other utterly refused; and Edward dying, when Edgar, his son, saw William had subdued the realm, despairing of recovering his right, he went into Scotland with his mother Agatha, and sister Margaret, and were very nobly received by Malcolm, who soon after married Margaret, with great joy and triumph. William the Conqueror fearing the effect of this alliance, confined all the

well wishers to Edgar that he could take; upon which, many English fled to Scotland, and had estates bestowed on them, whose names and posterities remain there to this day. Soon after, King William sent an herald to demand the delivery of Prince Edgar; which Malcolm absolutely denying, war was proclaimed, and William's forces were defeated several times by the Scots, which at length produced a peace; and a cross was set up, called the Recross, or King's Cross, which divided both kingdoms. Afterward, a rebellion was raised in Galloway; against whom, Malcolm sent Walter, the son of Fleance, aforementioned, who gave them a total overthrow, and presently after crushed another insurrection in the Western Isles; for which great services he was created high steward of Scotland, whose posterity have retained that surname to this day.



WILLIAM THE SECOND.

After the death of William the Conqueror, his son Rufus, who succeeded, repining that the Scots should enjoy so much of the ancient dominions of England, invaded Northumberland, and took the

castle of Anwick, putting all within to the sword. King Malcolm soon came, and besieged it with a potent army; and the English being ready to surrender, a knight came out of the gates, unarmed, but only a spear, whereon he carried the keys of the castle, riding toward the Scottish camp; who being brought to the King, bowing as if to deliver them, he ran the King through the eye into his brain, of which he immediately fell down and died; and by the swiftness of his horse, escaped out of danger. It is related, that King Rufus named this knight, Pierce Eye, giving him an estate in Northumberland; from whence the family of the Percies, earls of that county, are descended. King Malcolm was slain in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, in 1094. This year such dreadful thunder happened that many men and beasts were slain therewith, and houses overthrown. In Lothian, Fife, and Angus, trees and corn were burnt by fire, kindled no man knew how. King Malcolm left several children, but Edgar was the true heir.

XLVIII. Donald Bane, who fled to Ireland, hearing his brother Malcolm was dead, returned into Scotland, (with the assistance of the King of Norway, upon condition he was to have the possession of the Western Isles) and was received freely by the people as King, being crowned at Scone by several of the nobility; who, soon after, seeming to repent their rashness, Donald was heard to say, "That if they did not comply fully with him, he would be fully revenged on them;" which being told them, turned afterward to his great disadvantage; for William Rufus sending Duncan, Malcolm's bastard son, out of England, with an army, to claim the crown, when Donald went to encounter him, most of his men forsook him, and joined with Duncan; so that he was forced to fly for safety to the Western Isles, and Duncan was crowned King, but soon after murdered by the procurement of Donald, who was thereupon restored to the government. But the Scots being incensed that the Isles were given to the Danes, who had garrisoned them, sent to desire Edgar to come into Scotland; who, before he would venture, dispatched messengers to Donald, requiring him to relinquish the crown, for which he should enjoy the country of Lothian. Donald hereat enraged, slew the messengers. Edgar, aided by the King of England, presently set forward for Scotland, and was met by Donald with a puissant army, who were vanquished by Edgar, and Donald taken. Some write, that when the armies were ready to join, Donald's soldiers beholding the banner of St. Cuthbert flying against them, immediately deserted him; so that he was again forced to fly to the

Isles; where, being seized, he was brought to Edgar, and by him imprisoned; where he soon after died.

XLIX. Edgar, after this victory, went to Edinburgh, and from thence to Scone, where he was crowned King. In his reign was the great expedition of the Christian princes against the Saracens to the Holy Land, for the recovery of Jerusalem. Edgar had few troubles or disturbances in his reign, which continuing nine years, he died in 1103.

L. Alexander the Fierce, his brother, succeeded him, so called from his rigour in prosecuting thieves and robbers. In the beginning of his reign, being very devout, after the manner of his parents, the people of Murrayland and Ross guessing he would not be very severe against offenders, presumptuously robbed and slew their innocent neighbours, without respect to age or sex. This news roused King Alexander out of his devotion to take vengeance on them, which he did by executing a great number; the rest being restrained from their pilfering livelihood, conspired his death, divers of them, by corrupting the King's chamberlain, being admitted one night through an house of office into his lodgings; but he suspecting their design, started out of his bed and catching his sword, first slew his chamberlain, and then six of the traitors, the rest flying hastily for fear of discovery: yet some of them were after taken, and confessed they were encouraged herein by divers of the nobility, whom they named: the King marched against them with strong forces, and quickly routed them, many being taken and justly executed. Alexander having reigned seventeen years, died in 1120.

LI. David, his brother, was next received as lawful heir to the crown, who made it his whole care to administer justice, especially to the poor, and restrained those excesses which had debauched the Scottish nation: it is recorded that King David going one day to hunt a deer in a forest near Edinburgh, which was then full of woods and trees, of a sudden the dogs had lost the scent, and the noise had roused all the wild beasts in the forest, all the King's attendants being dispersed, when he coming alone to the foot of a hill, there appeared the fairest hart that ever was seen, who running in a full career toward the King, startled his horse, so that he ran clear away with him, the hart following with such violence, that he threw both man and horse to the ground, and as the King held out his hands to defend himself from the horns of the hart, a cross fell miraculously into his hands, at the sight whereof the hart immediately vanished, being never seen more; neither did any know

whether this cross were made of metal, stone, or wood; which story seems contrived to promote superstition, and the priests made use of it to persuade him to build an abbey called Holyrood House, because the thing happened on Holyrood day, wherein this cross remained till King David Bruce, who lost it to the English at Durham Field. Many wise men have much blamed the profuse liberality of this devout prince to the church, whereby the revenues of the crown were much diminished, which occasioned the destruction of several princes, who not having wherewithal to maintain their royal dignities, have procured the fall of divers great families to possess their estates: sometimes they were forced to lay heavy taxes and exactions on the people, to the utter impoverishing the realm; otherwhile they have been constrained to invade England as desperate men, regardless of their lives; likewise to stamp bad money, to the great damage of their subjects; all which mischiefs were occasioned by King David's unreasonable enriching the church; therefore, when King James the First saw David's tomb at Dumferling, he sighing, said, "That he was a sore and woeful saint to the crown."

At this time Queen Maud his wife died, by whom he enjoyed part of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon, whose death so afflicted him that he never married again; he had by her one son, named Henry, who married Earl Warren's daughter, on whom he begot three sons, Malcolm, William, and David, and three daughters, Adhama, Margaret, and Maud. King Henry the First of England having no sons, caused all the English nobility to swear that they would receive his daughter Maud the Empress for their sovereign, King David likewise swearing to the same; and therefore when King Stephen had usurped the crown, and sent to require David to perform his homage for the three counties aforementioned, King David replied, that he had already given his faith to Queen Maud, and would not break it for the threats of an usurper. Stephen hereupon invades Northumberland with fire and sword, which the Scots resenting, entered England with a great army, wherewith they routed Stephen's forces, taking the Earl of Gloucester and several other lords prisoners, to redeem whom Stephen was obliged to renounce his right to those countries; of which soon repenting, he again made an inroad into Scotland, but was fully repaid by the Scots, so that he was forced to conclude a peace; and awhile after Queen Maud came into England, claiming the crown, which caused great contentions. Meanwhile Prince Henry, David's only son, died, being exceedingly lamented, both by his father and all his

subjects, some of whom coming to condole his great loss, the King, who had already mortified his affections to all worldly glory, spake to this purpose :

“ Though I have formerly had sufficient experience of your care and fidelity toward me, yet this day gives me a full and ample confirmation thereof, for now I plainly perceive that you deplore the loss of my deceased son, no less than if you had buried some of your own children, and are therefore come with great charge and trouble to comfort me, whom you suppose sorely afflicted for the untimely death of so obedient a child, for which I acknowledge myself exceedingly obliged, and shall strive to recompense you to my utmost power; but as to the cause of your coming, my parents, who, I trust are saints in heaven, instructed me from my tender years to adore with all reverence the wise Creator and provident Governor of all things, and to believe that he acted nothing in vain, but all was ordained for some good end by his high and unsearchable providence; which precepts I continually revolving in my mind, whatsoever hath happened to me, whether prosperity or adversity, I have learned to receive all things with an equal and thankful heart, as being for the best, and thereby not only to bear all misfortunes with patience, but to entertain them as pleasant and desirable: and indeed it hath been my lot to be much exercised herein, for first my father, who was dearer to me than all the treasures of the world, a prince who was a common blessing to all his people, and no less beloved and admired by them, yet I have seen that neither the love of his subjects, kinsmen, friends, or children, could secure him in the least from the fatal necessity of dying; I have seen my mother, renowned for her singular virtues and graces, go the same way; my brethren, that were so kind to me and I so endeared to them, my wife, whom I esteem above all earthly creatures, are all gone this very path, and were all compelled to submit to death's irresistible ordinance, from which no man can be free: it is therefore to be received with a thankful heart, since the mercy and bounty of the Almighty hath granted us to be all immortally happy, if we through vices, which are the spots and diseases of the mind, do not bring ourselves into danger of eternal death; therefore, methinks I have cause to rejoice that God hath bestowed on me, by his singular favour, such a son, who in all men's judgments deserved to be beloved while here, and to be wished for and desired now he is departed hence; neither ought we to take it heavily, that he to whom he belonged, and who lent him to us, should call for

him again, and only take what was his own: for what injury is it if I should desire that again from any of you, which you possessed only as lent by me for a time? Neither do I doubt to want him long, for if God be so merciful to me as I desire, I hope to be called hence very suddenly by the command of that most high King, and to be carried up to rest, in the fellowship of heavenly spirits, where I shall find my father, mother, brethren, wife, and son, in a much better condition than ever I knew them here below; I will therefore repeat it once again, I rejoice, I say, that by the grace of the supernal God, I have such faith and confidence that this my son is already in that blessed state, and that glorious company which we all earnestly wish and endeavour to attain, when our souls shall leave these dark prisons of the body; neither have we any cause to lament, unless we may seem to emulate him that immense happiness, because we ourselves are still sticking fast in these miry bogs of dirt and clay, still torn with these thorns and briars, out of which he hath so happily escaped: but let us rather, by following the steps of him and other virtuous persons who are gone before us, strive night and day to come to those heavenly mansions, where by the divine beneficence they are already arrived."

The nobles, admiring the excellent wisdom and constancy of the King, departed, and soon after Malcolm, the eldest son of Prince Henry, was proclaimed Prince of Scotland, and David falling into a mortal disease, desired to be carried into the church to receive the sacrament; which having done, he then recommended his nephew to the nobility, and kissed them all, earnestly requiring them to seek the peace of their country, and the advancement of the public weal, and then died in the thirtieth year of his reign, 1150.

LII. Malcolm the Fourth, his nephew, of thirteen years old, succeeded to the crown; a prince who credited his education under his grandfather, being of a modest and virtuous temper, of which some seditious spirits taking advantage, endeavoured to dispossess him of the kingdom, especially one Somerlidge, but he was quickly suppressed, with the slaughter of two thousand of his followers. Henry the Second of England now sent a herald to him to come to London and do homage for the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon, as his grandfather David had done, upon penalty of forfeiting the same. King Malcolm went accordingly and performed it, upon condition (say the Scottish writers) that it should nowise prejudice the franchises and liberties of the Scotch

kingdom. King Henry having wars at this time with Lewis the Sixth of France went thither, compelling Malcolm to go with him, that he might thereby, if possible, break the ancient alliance with Scotland; but having lost many of his chief men by sickness, he returned into England, and licensed King Malcolm to go home; who calling a parliament at Scone, the lords severely reprehended him for bearing arms against the French, their most ancient allies and confederates. Malcolm excused it very modestly, alleging, that he unwarily put himself into Henry's hands, and what he acted was by constraint, which therefore the French King could not take so heinously when he understood the truth of the matter.

King Henry hearing of this dissention, strove to inflame it, and calling a parliament at York, sent for Malcolm thither, where he was charged for discovering the secrets of the English army to the French, for which, they said, he ought to forfeit the three counties aforementioned; and though Malcolm refuted all their allegations as false and feigned, by substantial reasons, yet by King Henry's enforcing them, the assembly gave sentence against him to forfeit the same; and to make him odious to his nobility, Henry caused it to be reported that Malcolm had freely renounced all his title and interest to those counties: so that upon his return to Scotland, without knowing any thing of these slanders, he was besieged in the castle of Bertha by several of his lords, but after they understood how their King had been abused, they raised the siege, and continued ever after faithful and obedient subjects. Malcolm hereat incensed, proclaimed open wars against Henry; at length after much damage on each side, an agreement was made on the former terms, only Northumberland was resigned to King Henry and his heirs for ever.

Several insurrections were made about this time by divers of the Scotch nobility, but were all happily quelled, to the confusion of their authors, and the realm settled in peace and quiet, the King wholly applying himself to administer justice to his people; and the nobility being informed that he had made a vow of chastity, the Archbishop of Saint Andrew's, at a council assembled at Scone, undertook to advise him to renounce his purpose, by these arguments:—

“It is not only necessary,” said he, “for yourself and the realm, that your highness take a wife, thereby to raise up heirs to succeed to the crown, but your grace cannot choose a more perfect state of life, considering the royal office wherein you are placed, than that of matrimony, a state not instituted by this prince, or the other law-

maker, but by God himself, who could neither err nor be mistaken in any ordinance he made; a state for pleasure the most eligible, since nothing can be more delightful than to have a worthy lady for your companion, to whom you may commit all the secrets of your heart, whether of joy or sorrow, she being ordained as a comfort in weal and woe, a support in sickness and health, ready to mitigate anger or to promote mirth, and cheer the spirits tired with troubles and vexations; neither are children to be disregarded the delight and defence of their parents, especially of Kings and Princes, governing under them in peace to the great benefit of the commonwealth, and supplying their places in war for the safeguard of their countries, and the terror of their enemies. Therefore since men are not born only for themselves and their own ease, but for the advantage of their friends and their country, your grace ought to persuade yourself to alter this determination, and to take a consort, to the joy and comfort of your subjects, since it is commendable both before God and man, and so necessary likewise that nothing can be more." But all these arguments could prevail nothing, Malcolm alleging, that from his tender years he had vowed his virginity to Jesus Christ, who he did not doubt would so provide that the realm should not be destitute of worthy heirs, when it should please his Divine Majesty to take him from his subjects to his mercy: and so spending the rest of his days in devotion, and erecting abbies and monasteries, he died in the thirteenth year of his reign, 1163; a blazing star with terrible streams appearing for fourteen days together before his death.

LIII. William his brother, called for his singular justice the Lion, was next advanced to the throne. After his coronation he sent to Henry of England to restore Northumberland, as being part of his inheritance. Henry required him to come to London, and do homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, where he should receive satisfaction; which being done, Henry declared that Northumberland was annexed to the crown, and he could make no restitution thereof without the consent of the states, which he would propose the next parliament; and then going into Normandy with an army, he took William along with him, and other Scotch lords, which William agreed to, in hope to have Northumberland quietly delivered, but after a while seeing little probability, he obtained leave to return home, where he applied himself to root out those robbers and oppressors who had abused his subjects, which having done, he sent again to Henry, who perceiving he must either satisfy him or expect open wars, by the advice of his nobles he restored as much of

Northumberland as his grandfather King Malcolm had possessed ; but within few years he repented this grant, and caused inroads to be made on the borders of Scotland, they doing the like upon England : at length King William raising a considerable army, marched toward Cumberland, one wing being led by Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, who for his approved valour had married the King's sister, and the other by Rouland, the King's cousin.

The English having no forces ready, offered a great sum of money to procure delay, but William answered, " that he had not begun the war for desire of money, neither had he given the occasion, being always willing to live of his own ; and if Northumberland, his rightful inheritance, were restored, he would cease from all further attempts." King Henry being in France, the English still endeavouring to protract time, sent several other messages with golden promises, till at length they suddenly surrounded the Scots' camp one night, who were so surprised therewith, and likewise by another party who lay in ambush, that they were forced to fly, William himself being taken prisoner, and was conveyed over to Normandy to King Henry, who ordered David Earl of Huntingdon to govern the realm of Scotland till his brother William was released, who sent several bishops and noblemen into Normandy to ransom his brother. At length it was concluded that King William should swear fealty to the King of England, and do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, as to his sovereign lord, as other people do, and likewise to the Lord Henry, his son ; that all the prelates of Scotland and their successors should acknowledge subjection to the church of England, and do fealty to whom the King should appoint ; the earls and baronets to do homage also to King Henry and his son ; the King of Scots to pay one hundred thousand pounds sterling for his redemption, one half in hand, and Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northumberland to be delivered to King Henry for securing the rest ; lastly, for the true performance of these covenants, and that the Scots should raise no war against the English for the future, four of the strongest castles were delivered into the hands of the English, namely, Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxborough, and Stirling.

King William being restored to his realm, one Gilbert of Galloway raised a rebellion, pretending to the crown, making great slaughter of all his opposers, and because his brother reproved him for his cruelty, he put out his eyes and cut off his hands ; against whom Earl Gilchrist was sent by the King with a potent army, who put them to flight, cutting off great numbers, Gilbert himself escaping

into Ireland. This year on midsummer day fell so great a storm of hail that it killed many sheep and small cattle, and people were beaten down with the violence thereof. In September the sun at noon was darkened for two hours, without any eclipse, clouds, or other natural cause. In Yorkshire was such terrible thunder, and strange lightning, that many abbeyes and churches were burned therewith. At this time King William sent to present his obedience to the pope, who rejoicing thereat, returned a rose of gold filled with balm, adding many new privileges to the church of Scotland. Soon after Earl Gilchrist turned his wife out of doors, upon suspicion of adultery, and afterwards strangled her at a village near Dundee, at which the King was so enraged, she being his sister, that he seized upon all his estate, and proclaimed him traitor, destroying his castle to the very ground, so that there is not the least remembrance left thereof.

King William's Queen dying, he married the daughter of the Lord Beaumont, who was son to a daughter of William the Conqueror; by this marriage the peace with England was confirmed, and an article added, that neither prince should harbour any fugitive or rebel who were subjects to the other, whereby Gilchrist, who fled into England, was forced to go back to Scotland in very mean apparel, living with his two sons in the woods, in great misery, unknown to any by reason of his poor clothes. Two great thieves at this time got into the Western Isles, where having raised a number of assistants, they got a great many ships together, with which upon occasion they passed to the main land, robbing and spoiling, and then flying to their ships. The King resolving to suppress these insolences, first sent out a navy, who burned all their vessels, and then landing in the Isles, he encompassed them on every side, taking and executing most of them upon the wheel, according to the civil law; returning from thence the King chanced to espy Gilchrist, with his two sons, digging of turfs, wondering to see two such genteel young men so meanly employed: at length Gilchrist with his bald head came and fell at his feet, saying, "If there be any commiseration in thee, most noble prince, toward such who by their offence are brought into extremity, and have suffered condign punishment for their crimes, I beseech thee for the love of Christ, who did not spare to shed his own most precious blood, for the redemption of sinners, to have mercy upon me, and these my poor and miserable sons, who have suffered much sorrow and want

with me, though they have not deserved it by committing any fault."

The King inquiring who he was, and how he came into this wretched state, the tears trickled so fast down his cheeks that he could not speak; at length a little recovering himself, he added, "I am Gilchrist, (most excellent prince,) and the most sorrowful creature upon earth, who alas have dipped my hands in the blood of thy family, and was therefore deprived of all my lands, and banished with these my two sons out of the realm, whereupon we continued in England a long time, till proclamation being made against out-laws, we were constrained to return hither, where I and my sons have lived by roots all the summer, and are forced to get our living in the winter with digging of clods; if therefore pity or compassion have any place in thy heart, or if thy indignation be now somewhat qualified, commiserate our sorrowful estate, and forgive my offences, whereby thou mayst not only attain the honour and fame of a merciful prince, and be highly renowned among all nations for that heavenly virtue, but mayst likewise expect the mercy of God, for shewing thyself a follower of Jesus Christ, the giver of all mercy, grace, and peace."

The King being moved at these words, and remembering the good service by him formerly performed, and that he was fallen from so great honour to such extreme misery, he forgave his crimes, and restored his estate to him and his sons, Gilchrist continuing ever after in obedience to his prince, and his sons dying before him, he left all his lands to the abbey of Aberbrothock, which the King had newly founded. In England, King Richard the first succeeded his father Henry, who, resolving to go into the Holy Land, to prevent the Scots from disturbing his realm, surrendered the four towns and the three counties, aforementioned; only the garrisons to be commanded by the English. David, Earl of Huntington, the King's brother, accompanying Richard, where they performed wonders; and at length returning, Richard dying, King John succeeded, to whom William went and performed his homage; but John requiring him to go over and assist him against France, he refused it, and thereupon John declared all the aforesaid lands to be forfeited to the crown of England, and caused a great booty to be fetched out of Scotland, which had occasioned open wars, if the English lords had not obliged King John to make restitution, they being loth to engage against Scotland and France at once.



KING RICHARD I.

This winter proved so frosty that no plough could enter the ground till March. Ale was frozen in the houses and cellars, so that it was sold by weight: from Twelve-tide till February were terrible earthquakes continually. King John now raised another quarrel against the Scots; but at length peace was established at York, upon condition that Margaret and Isabel, daughters to King William, should, after nine years, be married to Henry and Richard, the sons of King John, and that if one died the other should succeed to the crown; for which William gave a considerable dower with his daughters, and nine Scotch noblemen were delivered to King John for true performance. King William returning, came to Bertha, where such a flood arose by the inundation of the two rivers, Tay and Almond, that the walls of the town were beat down, and abundance of people drowned, accompanied with such lamentable cries and shrieks as if the town had been suddenly surprised; and

so violent was it, that though the King, his Queen, and part of his family escaped, yet his youngest son John, the nurse, and above thirty women and servants were overwhelmed therein. This city being thus destroyed, the King built another, which he called Perth, now St. Johnston, and soon after died, when he had reigned forty-nine years, and in the seventy-fourth year of his age, 1213. The year before, dreadful comets were seen, one appearing before the rising of the sun, the other at its setting. In Northumberland a cow calved a monster, the head and neck resembling a calf, the other parts like a colt. Two moons were visible at once.

LIV. Alexander the Second, his son, was next crowned at Scone, and calling a parliament at Edinburgh, he ordained many good laws, for the just government of his subjects. At this time, the English barons being in arms against King John, Lewis, the French King's son, came over to assist them; of which Alexander having notice, marched with a great army toward London, to join with Lewis. At length, things being somewhat settled in England, Alexander went with Lewis to France, where the ancient league was renewed between both nations, with this addition, "That neither prince should entertain the enemies of the other, nor marry any stranger without acquainting the other therewith:" which being ratified, Lewis and Alexander returned to England, and King John dying, Henry, his son, succeeded; who procured Pope Innocent in a general council at Rome, wherein were four hundred and twelve bishops, and eight hundred abbots, to accurse both Lewis and Alexander, with all that favoured their cause against him; and soon after, Cardinal Guallo came into England upon that account, so that Lewis was forced to compound for his absolution with a great sum of money, and Alexander marched home, but was soon followed by King Henry; who, finding himself too weak to engage, returned back, Alexander following him into Northumberland and taking Carlisle; after which, King Henry being reinforced, took Berwick, and ruined the country; but at length, by the mediation of the bishops, peace was concluded, the places restored, and Alexander freed from the pope's curse.

But Guallo not forgetting the main business, summoned all the prelates of Scotland to Anwick, to receive full absolution, which he was resolved they should not have without a good round sum; which some paid, but others refused. The recusants, Guallo summoned to Rome; who going thither, made such heavy complaint against him that at his return he was fined. Next year, a legate came from the

pope with bulls to raise money against the Saracens, and having gathered a considerable sum, he spent it in riot and debauchery, pretending when he came to Rome that he was robbed by the way. In a very short time another was sent on the same errand; of which Alexander having notice, called a council to advise about it; in which, one of the bishops thus expressed himself:—

“ Though upon divers considerations I might forbear to discover those things which are hurtful and prejudicial to the commonwealth, yet, most noble prince, when I consider your humanity, faith, and constancy, who make it your whole study to advance the interest of your subjects, out of the zeal I have to common liberty, I cannot but declare the truth; for since all kind of tyranny is intolerable, yea even when exercised by Kings and Princes, who enjoy their kingdoms by lineal and rightful possession, how much more is it to be detested, when practised by men of vile and base quality? Therefore, if the many intolerable wrongs and robberies which we have endured for many years, have been done by the popes themselves, it had been somewhat more tolerable; but since wretched rascally fellows, promoted to benefices and ecclesiastical dignities merely for their wicked and horrible vices, have not only interdicted and cursed our realm without lawful commission, but have also consumed our money in all kind of wantonness and villainy, even that money which they gathered under pretence of raising an army against Turks and Infidels. I am of the opinion that their cursed avarice ought to be restrained by all faithful Christians, and especially by us, whose humility and innocence they scorn and contemn. In former years, you complained of the injuries done by Guallo, who cursed the kingdom and most of the prelates, because they would not furnish him with what money he required to maintain his outrageous lusts, as who is more than suspected to be of such a devilish nature, that though he were sent to mediate peace between the English and Scots, yet stirred up such malice and inveterate hatred between them, that if it had not been sooner composed, both nations might have utterly annihilated and destroyed each other. But since these heinous and horrible deeds are apparent, to what purpose should I repeat them, since it cannot be done without stirring up grief and disdain in you at the remembrance? When we were delivered from this caitiff Guallo, presently after comes another, a bird of the same feather, of as bad, if not worse conversation than he; for after he had got amongst us large sums, under colour of redeeming Christian prisoners out of the hands of Saracens,

and raising fresh arms against them, he wasted this money in riot and filthiness, falsely alleging it was stolen from him. Since, therefore, we have had such woeful experience and already suffered such damage and loss by the two former legates, we may be justly reckoned fools and madmen to admit a third; for it is not to be imagined, that this new one will be any thing better than his fellows; and truly, if any man should ask my judgment in the case, I freely declare and protest, my opinion is, that neither this legate, nor any other ever after, ought to be received into the kingdom, considering what waste and spoil they have made by their unreasonable exactions. If there be any among you who have more money than you well know how to spend, in the name of God bestow it upon poor and indigent, and do not give to this lecherous, vicious legate, since we have great reason to think, that what comes into his hands, is utterly lost and thrown away."

The bishop's words appeared so reasonable, that the legate was not received into the realm. Shortly after, one Ross raised an open rebellion, taking and burning the town of Inverness: at length, the Earl of Bucquain pursued and took him and his two sons, striking off their heads, and sending them to the King. Then the people of Cathness seized upon their bishop, called Adam, for cursing them for refusing to pay their tythes, scourging him with rods, and then setting fire to his house, burnt him in his own kitchen: for which wicked act, the King himself marched against them, and taking four hundred, caused them all to be hanged: and that there might be no succession of such a cursed generation, he ordered all their male children to be gelt; the place where it was done being called Stone Hill to this day. The Earl of Cathness, because he did not assist the bishop nor endeavour to punish the offenders, was deprived of his earldom and offices; but upon his submission, and a fine paid, he was again restored to them: yet, soon after, he himself was slain by one of his servants whom he had hardly used, and his house burnt over him to prevent discovery; and very near this time, Patrick, Earl of Atholl, had the same fate, being slain in his castle and burnt. The next year, King Lewis of France desired aid of King Alexander in his journey to the Holy Land, who sent him divers choice bands of soldiers, under three valiant leaders; but the greatest part perished in Egypt, either by sword or sickness, so that few returned home. After King Alexander had reigned 35 years, and in the fifty-first of his age, he died, 1249.

LV. Alexander the Third, his son, not above nine years old, was proclaimed King: when he came to be crowned, great dissention arose among the nobility, because by the observations of the stars, it was an unfortunate day; others alleged that he ought first to be made a knight: at length the difference grew so high, that, to quiet it, the Earl of Fife upon a sudden set the crown on the King's head, being placed in the marble chair, disregarding all superstitious omens. In his second year (saith the monkish historian) the prelates and barons caused the bones of Queen Margaret, the King's grandmother, to be taken up and put into a silver shrine, which being carried toward her tomb, when the bearers came against the sepulchre of her husband, King Malcolm, they were not able to proceed further, till an old man present advised them to take up his bones likewise, and then they carried them to the place where they now remain, and were in great veneration with the people. He adds, that at this time a monk of Melross was admonished in a dream that he should find part of the true cross whereon Christ was crucified, near Peblis in Lothian, inclosed in a case whereon was engraven St. Nicholas; when the case was opened, the cross was found within it, whereby many miracles were wrought. Not far from thence was found a stone chest, curiously wrought, wherein were certain bones wrapped up in silk, but not known whose they were; Alexander built an abbey where this relic was found, which no doubt was the pious intent of inventing these miracles; but enough of monkery.

Alexander renewed the peace with the English, and married Margaret, King Henry's daughter, at York with great solemnity; and being informed that the Earls of Menteith, Atholl, Bucquain, and Cumins, had committed many violences and extortions upon his subjects in his minority, he summoned them to appear before his judges, which they refusing, were for the contempt proclaimed traitors, and put to the horn; to revenge which they conspired together, and seized the King, keeping him prisoner a long while at Stirling, whereby great disorders happened in the kingdom; at length an agreement was made. The next year was so great a dearth by reason of rain in harvest, that the people were miserably vexed with famine, which Acho, King of Denmark, being informed of, took occasion to invade the rest of the Western Isles, some of them having been possessed by the Danes from King Edgar's time, and soon taking them, arrived with a great army upon the main land of Scotland, taking the castle of Air by siege, or foraging the country;

at which young Alexander being surprised, as doubting his own power, thought best to prolong the time by treating of peace, and therefore sent ambassadors to the camp of Acho, one of whom spoke to this purpose :

“ Were it not that our King and nobles have ever observed it as an ancient custom to seek redress of injuries by treaty, before they endeavour to be revenged by the sword, you had not now seen orators to discourse of peace, but a mighty army ready provided for battle. But we are of opinion, that though we should obtain victory over those who have robbed and spoiled our country, yet it is much better, if possible, to procure restitution by fair means, as counting it great folly to seek that by fire and sword, which we may obtain by conference and good words. Nevertheless, when our just desires and reasonable offers are refused by our enemies, and that we find them unwilling to have peace, for which all wars ought to be undertaken, we are always ready to join together as one man, to avenge ourselves upon our implacable adversaries ; we are now sent from our King and sovereign to inquire what reason you have to invade his realm, to destroy his subjects, and to violate that league which has continued inviolate between both nations from above an hundred years, and not only to seize his two Isles of Bute and Arran, but to invade the main land of his dominions with such barbarity, that you have made no difference of sex, age, or quality, causing women, children, and old feeble persons to fall by your bloody swords, as well as those who actually fight against you. What heinous crime have the Scots committed against you or others, which should deserve this cruelty at your hands ? What rage and fury hath possessed you to burn the churches of God and his saints, murdering those who sheltered themselves in them for saving their lives ? If you have no fear of God, who governs all, neither dread his punishment for these horrid impieties, yet you have cause to be afraid of the two potent Kings of Albion that are allied together in one bond of amity and marriage, who will shortly come against you with such mighty forces, that you will not be able to resist them ; since therefore you may now depart with honour, we admonish you in our master’s name that it will be better to satisfy for the mischiefs you have already done, and return back, than to be reduced to such miserable extremity as to be forced to beg for mercy when it will in nowise be granted you.”

This confident speech was designed to terrify Acho, who being of a courageous spirit, seemed little concerned, making this reply

thereto. "I perceive that you ambassadors think to affright us with your fierce and threatening words, imagining that we are so faint-hearted as to forsake our enterprise, merely for furious menaces; but if you think so you are extremely mistaken: and whereas you aggravate the injuries you have received in taking those Isles from you, we perceive you are not indifferent persons, and therefore incapable to judge; neither will we learn of you what we ought to esteem right or wrong upon this account: but if you desire to know the cause why we have invaded Arran and Bute, we declare and affirm that not only these two, but likewise all the other islands of Scotland, pertain to us and our realm by ancient right and title of inheritance, as upon occasion we can sufficiently make appear; we are therefore come to recover the value of those profits which for many years you have unjustly received of those Isles. Go then and tell your King, that we neither value his words nor deeds; yet if he desire peace without fighting, to prevent the ruin and burning of his cities and towns, and the total destruction and extermination of his kingdom, command him immediately to send us ten thousand marks sterling for the rents he has received of our lands, and to resign up all his right and title to those Isles for ever, and then he may hope for peace at our hands, but otherwise utter desolation attends both him and his people."

King Alexander perceiving that nothing but a battle must decide the controversy, raised an army of forty thousand men, and marching against Acho, after several bickerings the Danes were at length utterly routed, with the slaughter of twenty-four thousand of their number, and not above five thousand Scots. Acho's nephew being slain among them, he himself, with a few others, escaping to the castle of Air, where he had the ill tidings that his navy, consisting of one hundred and fifty ships, was utterly destroyed by tempest, not above four being saved; the mariners who escaped on shore being likewise cut off by the country people, so that very few got away. Acho being astonished at two such vast misfortunes at once, sailed with his dismal company into the Isles of Orkney, where he sent to Denmark for fresh forces; but before they arrived he died there, so that all those great preparations came to nothing. The same day that Acho died, Alexander Prince of Scotland was born. Magnus his son succeeded Acho, from whom the Scots won all the islands possessed by the Danes for one hundred and sixty-seven years past.

At this time Lewis of France made another expedition into the Holy Land, Alexander sending a thousand Scots to his aid, commanded by the Earls of Carrick, Atholl, and others, who most of them died in the voyage, and the Earl of Carrick among the rest, leaving only one daughter, named Martha, heiress to his estate, who was after married without the King's consent to Robert Bruce, son and heir to Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale in Scotland, and of Cleveland in England, whose mother was Isabel, second daughter to David Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William King of Scotland; of this marriage was born Robert Bruce, who afterward, for want of heirs to King Alexander, attained the crown of Scotland.

Queen Margaret, Alexander's wife, and daughter to King Henry the Third, died about this time, by whom he had two sons, Alexander and David, and one daughter, named Margaret, who about three years after was married to Aquin, King of Norway; David died before her, and Prince Alexander soon after without issue, though married to the daughter of the Earl of Flanders: his daughter Margaret, Queen of Norway, deceased likewise the same year, leaving only one daughter behind her, which struck the King with great grief; however, by the advice of his nobility, he married another wife, the daughter of the Earl of Champain in France; but the same year, as he was riding full speed upon a fierce horse at Kinghorn, the horse leaped over the cliff into the sea, and broke his neck, in the forty-second year of his reign, 1290. The day before his death, the Earl of March demanded of one Thomas Lermond (called Thomas the Rhymer, and accounted a notable prophet) what weather would be to-morrow, Thomas answered, "That to-morrow, before noon, should happen such a dreadful tempest, that the like was never before in Scotland." In the morning the sky was fair and clear, and noon drew near without the least sign of storm or wind; the Earl of March sent for Thomas, telling him how much he was mistaken. Thomas said little, only alleged it was not yet past noon; at that instant, a post arrived at the earl's gate with news of the King's sudden death. "This is that fearful wind," said Thomas, "which shall bring such calamity and trouble to the realm."

In this King's reign several strange prodigies happened: in his seventeenth year, an infinite number of worms destroyed the fruits, flowers, and herbs; the waters of Forth and Tay overflowed many towns and villages; in his twentieth year a blazing star appeared,

of so vast a magnitude that it was seen at noon-day; such winds with hailstones happened, that overthrew many houses; and such dreadful fires that burned down Aberdeen, Perth, part of Lanerick, with many towns and villages in Lothian and other places. In his thirty-first year a great pestilence reigned in Scotland; but the most remarkable was, that when Alexander at his last marriage was leading up a dance in the company of a great many lords and ladies, there appeared in the presence of them all a skeleton of nothing but skin and bones, like the picture of death, very terrible to behold, which struck them all with such a consternation, that it broke off their mirth and jollity.

Alexander thus miserably ending his life, without leaving any issue behind him, great mischiefs and disorders happened in the realm: at length it was concluded to elect four governors to administer justice, but Edward the First, King of England, perceiving he had now a fair opportunity to conquer Scotland, sent to propose a match with the daughter of Norway, (say the Scotch historians, who write very severely and partially against King Edward) which being agreed upon, with limitations and conditions by the lords, two noble Scotch knights were sent to Norway to fetch the bride, but she was dead before they came; upon which great contention arose between Alexander's kinsmen about their right to the crown: three especially pretended a title thereto, John Baliol, the son of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William; Robert Bruce, as descended from Isabel, the youngest daughter of Earl David, and John, Lord Hastings, as being likewise descended from this youngest daughter, who was married to his father, Henry Hastings: the governors often consulted about the matter, but not concluding upon any, they resolved to leave the decision of the whole matter to King Edward, desiring him to come to Berwick upon that account.

At his coming he appointed twelve Scotch lawyers, to join with so many English, of the most learned in both kingdoms, who were to consider maturely of all their claims, and make report accordingly; which being done, the major part judged the right to be in Robert Bruce. Here the Scotch writers report that Edward proposed to Bruce, if he would swear to hold the crown of him as his sovereign lord, he would declare in favour of him, otherwise not; but he affirming that he valued the liberty of his country above his own private advantage, and would not betray the liberties thereof

into the hands of the English, which had hitherto been free; thereupon King Edward made the same offer to John Baliol, who accepting those conditions, upon the day appointed he gave judgment in behalf of Edward Baliol; upon which (say the Scotch historians) the Earl of Gloucester, an English lord of great prudence, spake thus to him: "O, King, remember what you have done this day, in refusing to give a righteous sentence in this matter; for though the reason be now secret and hid, yet it shall be revealed when the great Judge, who searcheth the consciences and minds of all men, shall call you to answer for it at that dreadful day of the universal judgment; you have now given an unjust sentence against a King, but then shall just judgment be pronounced on you."

LVI. John Baliol was soon after crowned in great state at Scone, and the next year came to Newcastle, where he did homage to King Edward for the realm of Scotland against the consent of the nobility, say the Scots, since by this means he seemed to bring the realm into servitude to the English; neither had he but little felicity therein, for a few years after King Edward commanding him, by virtue of this homage, to assist him with all the power he could raise against France, King John, repenting of his rashness, sent to Edward and renounced his homage, alleging it to be done without the consent of the three estates. King Edward gave this short answer to the ambassadors—"Since we perceive your King will not come to us, tell him we intend shortly to visit him;" and hereupon he declared John to have forfeited his crown and dignity, resolving to deprive him of all princely dignity, and concluding a peace with France, he procured the friendship of Robert Bruce, who delivered him all the castles he held in Scotland, upon promise, as it was thought, of making him King; on the other side, John renewed the ancient league with France, and a marriage was concluded between the eldest daughter of Charles, Earl of Valois, brother to King Philip of France, and Edward Baliol, the son of John, and forty thousand crowns were to be paid to John as her dowry. In the mean time King Edward came into Scotland like an inundation, carrying all before him, first taking Berwick by storm with so much bloodshed, that the Scotch writers say it drove the mills at low water, above seven thousand people being slain in one day, with most of the nobility and gentry of Lothian and Fife; then he utterly routed the forces of Baliol at Dunbar, occasioned, say they,

by the treachery of Robert Bruce, who persuaded all his friends in the Scotch army to flee upon the first onset, which so discouraged the rest, that they threw down their arms and were slain without resistance.



ROBERT BRUCE.

After this victory, Bruce applied himself to King Edward to perform his promise of settling him in the throne; to whom it is said King Edward answered, "What, dost thou think we have nothing else to do, but to conquer kingdoms, and then give them away to thee?" Upon which Robert retired in discontent to his lands in England. King Edward then took the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Forfair, in the last of which, by the procurement of John Cumin, John Baliol and his son Edward were delivered into his hands. King John laying aside all his royal robes, presented himself before Edward, with only a white wand in his hand, and resigned up the kingdoms into his hands, renouncing all his right and title thereto for ever; which was confirmed by a charter under the hands of the nobility, who all swore allegiance to King Edward of England, and delivered all the forts and castles into his

hands. John and his son were carried prisoners to London, but soon after the father was released and sent to Scotland, who perceiving he was hated by the people, retired to his ancient inheritance in Normandy, where at length falling blind, he died in an old age, leaving his estate to his son Edward, who being released resided with his father before his death.

After this King Edward pursued his quarrel against France, leaving Hugh Cressingham governor of Scotland. The lords of Scotland no sooner heard he was passed the seas, but they presently began an insurrection, choosing twelve noblemen to be governors in their several countries; about which time William Wallace, the son of Sir Andrew Wallace, a young man of large stature, and an inveterate enemy to the English nation, assembling a great number of Scots, performed many valiant exploits, taking divers towns and castles, and invading Northumberland, of which Edward having notice, again entered Scotland, and at Falkirk obtained a very considerable victory. A while after the Scots discomfited a party of the English, with



WILLIAM WALLACE.

which news Edward was so enraged, that gathering a mighty army, he marched thither again, the Scots flying before him, none daring to take arms but Wallace and his accomplices, who sheltered themselves in the woods, so that the English marched quite through Scotland, wholly subduing it without opposition; and to secure them from rebelling for the future, and make one people of both nations, he abolished all the laws and statutes of the realm, burned all their records and books, both sacred and common, commanding the Scots to use the liturgy of Sarum, and removed the marble coronation chair from Scone to London, all the nobility taking new oaths of allegiance to Edward, who then returned to England with great joy and triumph.

He was no sooner out of sight but the Scots entered into new practices; for John Cumin, called the Red, and Robert Bruce conferring together about the deplorable state of their country, it was concluded to endeavour the freedom thereof, and that Bruce should be King, and Cumin to inherit Bruce's estate: of this agreement indentures were drawn with their hands and seals thereto, after which Bruce went into England to prevent suspicion in King Edward, for it was thought he would have put him and his brethren to death, if he could have got them all into his power. After Bruce's departure, Cumin suspecting the success of their design, or at least that he should be of little account when Bruce had once attained the kingdom, he thereupon privately sent the counterpart of the conspiracy, under Bruce's hand and seal, to King Edward, who judging it to proceed from envy, disregarded it, yet shewed it to Bruce, enquiring whether it were his hand; Bruce stoutly denied his knowledge thereof, desiring that he might peruse it one night, thereby to discover the forgery and malice thereof, which if he did not, he was willing to lose all his estate in England; to which the King consented. After he was gone, the Earl of Gloucester sent to Bruce's lodgings twelve single pence and two sharp spurs, which Bruce took for a warning to be gone instantly, and thereupon causing a smith to shoe three horses backward, that their track should not be perceived in the snow, which then lay on the ground, he went out of London about midnight with only two trusty servants, so that by the morning he was out of Edward's reach, who sent several to overtake him, and made such speed that in seven days he came to Lochmaben, in Anandale, where meeting with his brother David, and Robert Fleming, a gallant young gentleman, he declared what danger he

was in by the treachery of Cumin. At that instant they met with one of Cumin's servants going to King Edward with letters, signifying that if Bruce were not presently put to death, great mischiefs would happen in Scotland, against King Edward's interest.

After having fully examined the messenger, and understood by him that his master was at the priory at Dumfries, they slew him, and then posting thither, Bruce found Cumin in the choir of the church, and charged him for such ill usage; hot words arose, when Bruce suddenly drew his sword, and struck Cumin into the belly, and flying out of the church, met two of his friends, who seeing him in disorder, enquired the reason: "I believe," said he, "that Cumin is slain." "What!" say they, "hast thou attempted so great an act, and left it doubtful?" and going into the place where Cumin lay wounded, they asked him whether he thought he had his death's wound, or hoped to recover with the help of a good surgeon; he told them he doubted not but he might if he came in time; whereupon they gave him three or four deadly wounds more, wherewith he presently gave up the ghost. At this time William Wallace was betrayed to King Edward, and being brought to London, was hanged and quartered, his quarters being set up in divers great towns in Scotland. He was certainly one of the most gallant persons of that age, and adored by the Scots, because he would never acknowledge subjection to the English: it is said, when he went to school, his master taught him these two verses, which he never forgot:

*Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum.
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito, fili.*

Remember son that liberty
Is a most happy thing.
Take heed that into slavery
Thyself thou never bring.

LVII. Robert Bruce having thus slain Cumin, procured a pardon from Rome, that none might scruple to assist him upon that account for obtaining the crown. Soon after, having got his friends together, he caused himself to be crowned King at Scone, though at first he had few to assist him; for King Edward having notice of his designs, sent Odomar de Valence against him, who soon discomfited King

Robert and his small company, so that he was forced to secure himself in woods and desert places, most of his friends forsaking him, and his queen was taken prisoner and sent to London: at length he had some assistance from the Isles, wherewith he took Carrick Castle, and other places, which encouraged others to join with him; upon which King Edward marched toward Scotland, with strong forces, designing utterly to subdue the whole country, but by the way he fell sick and died; Edward the Second, called Caernarvan, succeeding him, who pursuing his father's enterprize, summoned all the Scotch nobility to Dumfries, to swear allegiance, some of whom



EDWARD II.

appeared, and others refused, because they heard that he was drawn away by ill counsel, to the great grief of his people, which was like to occasion disturbance in England. King Robert still increased, defeating several small parties of the English. At length King Edward came into Scotland, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and almost as many horse, (if the Scotch historians be not much out,) besides servants, ostlers, women, and lackeys, many

carrying their whole families with them, to settle there after the conquest. King Edward was so elated with confidence of victory, that he brought a Carmelite friar, called Robert Baston, with him, to describe the manner of it. The place of battle was called Bannocks Bourn, where King Robert, with thirty thousand men, utterly vanquished this mighty army, killing ten thousand of them, with the Earl of Gloucester and two hundred knights, about four thousand Scots being slain. The friar was taken, and commanded by King Robert to write the victory of the Scots, who thereupon made certain rude verses beginning thus :

*De planctu cudo, metrum cum carmine nudo.
Risum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo.*

Thus Englished :—

With barren verse this rhyme I make,
Bewailing whilst this theme I take.

After this, Robert called a parliament, wherein the crown was settled upon him and his heirs, and if his son David should die without heirs, that Robert Steward, the son of Walter Steward, Lord High Steward of Scotland, and of Margery, King Robert's daughter, should then succeed. Soon after King Edward made another expedition into Scotland, but with as ill success as before ; and after that a third, but with as bad fortune as the former : at length ambassadors were sent by Edward to conclude a peace, by whom it was agreed, that King Edward should renounce all his right and title to the kingdom of Scotland, and declare it to be as free as in the reign of King Alexander the Third, and for this renunciation and damages done to the English, King Robert was to pay thirty thousand marks sterling. For confirming this peace, David Bruce, Prince of Scotland, married Jane, the sister of King Edward ; after which, King Robert departed this life in 1329—a prince who mounted the throne over the carcasses of his nearest kindred, encountering with the greatest difficulties and calamities of a country oppressed by powerful and martial enemies, yet bravely struggled with all disadvantages, and left behind him the character of a great captain, and a prudent prince. Upon his death-bed he advised his nobility of three things : First, Not to make an absolute lord over the Isles, lest it might encourage rebellion, which would not be easy

to quell by reason of the strength and difficulty of approach, they being encompassed by the sea. Second, Never, if possible, to join in a set battle against the English, nor venture the kingdom upon the chance of one fight, but rather to skirmish and fight at advantage, that some reserve might remain. Third, Not to make any long peace or truce with England, since idleness caused sloth and cowardice. He desired his heart might be carried to the Holy Land, whither he had designed to have gone, which was undertaken by Sir James Douglas, who had therefore the bloody heart in his arms; but he by the way assisting the Spaniards against the Saracens in Arragon, was cut off with all his company. This end had this valiant knight, whom the Scots report to have got the victory fifty-seven times against the English, and thirteen against the Turks.

LVIII. David Bruce, the son of Robert, but seven years old, was next proclaimed King, during whose minority Earl Thomas Randal was appointed governor of the realm; who finding the country much harassed and impoverished, sent ambassadors to King Edward the Third of England, who concluded a truce between both nations for three years, after which his whole study was to maintain justice and equity, ordering every man to provide himself of arms for defence, if there should be occasion, and to extirpate thieves and robbers, he commanded saddles, bridles, and other furniture to be left abroad night and day, and if any were stolen, the sheriff of the county was to produce the thief, or else pay the value of it, which cleared the kingdom of all vagabonds and idle persons. It happened that a country clown hid his own plough irons, and pretended they were stolen, thereby to recover the value from the sheriff, but the cheat being discovered, he was hanged, according to his deserts.

King Edward, (says the Scotch writers,) envying the flourishing state of Scotland, sent a monk who poisoned the governor, and in the mean time he invaded the borders; but it seems the venom was of such a nature as not to kill suddenly, but by degrees, so that though he were so sick as not able to ride nor go, yet he caused himself to be carried into the field in an horse litter, in the head of a considerable army, which being unexpected, Edward sent an herald, pretending to treat with him, but really to observe the posture of the Scotch camp. The governor putting on his best robes, and sitting in a chair, as if recovered from his distemper, ordered him to be brought in, who requiring some unreasonable conditions, he boldly answered, "That in a short time he did not doubt to

make it appear what little cause the English had to demand such unjust terms;" and then bestowing all the rich robes he had on upon the herald, sent him back again. King Edward by this, supposing the governor was in health, returned to England, ordering the monk (say the Scots) to be slain for deceiving him; in the mean time the governor returning homeward, died of the venom administered by the monk. After whom the Earls of March and Mar were chosen governors, at which time Edward the son of King John Baliol was persuaded to come from France by one Lorison, Cumin Earl of Atholl, and other banished Scots, and claim the crown of Scotland, and landing in England, King Edward assisted him with six thousand men, upon condition to hold the kingdom from him, as his sovereign lord; with these forces he entered Scotland, defeating and slaying Alexander Seaton and his company, who were sent against him. Encouraged with this success, they marched forward, but were soon met with by two great armies raised by the governors; however Baliol was resolved to encounter them, though much inferior in number. The Scots disdaining their weakness, fell to dancing, drinking, and revelling without fear, which Baliol understanding, assaulted their camp at midnight, killing all till they came to the Earl of Mar's tent, whom they slew in his bed fast asleep, making a woeful slaughter of the rest, so that the dead bodies lay on heaps. The English were so furious that had not Baliol ordered all his own party to wear a white cloth about their arms, they would have destroyed one another. There were slain of the Scots above three thousand lords and gentlemen, and sixteen thousand others.

LIX. Edward Baliol, after this great victory, finding the nobility and commons coming daily in great numbers to his assistance, caused himself to be crowned King at Scone, in 1332. King David, then not above nine years old, was conveyed into France with his Queen, Jane, sister to King Edward, where he was kindly entertained by King Philip, with whom he continued nine years. After this some noblemen who were for King David, having notice that King Edward resided in Saint Johnston's, they suddenly besieged the town, whereupon the people of Galloway, under the Lord Maxwell, invaded and spoiled the lands of those lords who were at the siege, which caused them to raise it, and enter into Galloway with fire and sword. King Edward having fortified Saint Johnston's, and leaving the Earl of Fife governor, marched into the country with his army, before whose return his enemies took it, imprisoning the Earl of Mar, and beheading Andrew Murray: then John Randal, Earl of

Murray, Archibald Douglas, and others increasing their forces, encountered with King Edward at Anandale, where after a bloody fight, Baliol was routed, himself flying away upon a horse without a bridle. While the Scots were thus ruining one another, King Edward thought it a fit opportunity to conquer both, and thereupon he besieged Berwick by sea and land for four month's space, during which many assaults and skirmishes happened, in one of which William, son of Alexander Seaton, the governor, was taken prisoner. At length the besieged were so necessitated for provisions, that they promised to surrender the town if not relieved in six days, and the governor delivered his eldest son Thomas as security for performing the same. Just then a mighty army of Scots marched into England under Archibald Douglas, the new governor, of which King Edward having notice, sent a messenger to the governor to deliver the town immediately, or else his two sons should be instantly hanged up before his eyes, causing a gibbet to be erected before the town, and his sons to be brought thither, which Sir Alexander beholding, was in an extreme perplexity, natural affection and compassion inclining him to save his children's lives, yet his faith and loyalty to his prince and country restrained those first thoughts for the present; but at length fatherly tenderness had prevailed, had not his lady and the mother of his children thus fortified his resolution:—"Dear sir, I beseech you consider what reproach and dishonour will fall upon us and our posterity, if through our treachery the town be surrendered into the hands of the enemy, insomuch as from that hour we shall be infamous to all the world; neither have we cause to grieve so much for the loss of our sons, since by such a glorious death they will obtain everlasting fame, and leave to their parents the renown of faithful and loyal subjects; besides, we are young enough to get more children, instead of those we have lost, but if we should once lose our honour, by betraying our country, and turning traitors to our gracious prince and sovereign lord, we should never be able to recover the same again."

With these and the like arguments this noble and worthy lady persuaded her sorrowful husband to act nothing unworthily either to himself or the town, out of commiseration to his sons, who were accordingly put to death, ending their lives (saith the historian) with great honour in the righteous quarrel of their country. Douglas, the governor, hearing of the death of these two young gentlemen, resolved to revenge their blood by fighting with King Edward, and thereby relieve the town, and accordingly marched toward him,

though contrary to the advice of divers prudent commanders; and a great battle was fought at Halydown Hill, wherein the Scots were utterly vanquished, fourteen thousand of their army being slain, and amongst them Archibald Douglas, the governor, John, James, and Alane, three sons of Walter Stewart, and several other lords and gentlemen; upon which overthrow, Berwick was delivered into the hands of King Edward, who then settled Edward Baliol in the kingdom, and a parliament being called at Perth, Edward was confirmed King, most of the nobility swearing allegiance to him, and had most of the fortified towns and castles delivered to him, rewarding with lands and commands those who assisted him in recovering the kingdom: he then used all means possible to get Robert Stewart into his hands, being sensible of his right to the crown, next to King David, but he being about fifteen years old, was conveyed to Dunbarton castle, where he was joyfully received by Malcolm Fleming, the captain thereof.

Next year, King Edward invaded Scotland by sea and land, but no enemy daring to appear, he returned home, taking Edward Baliol with him, and leaving David Cumin to be governor, who undertook to rule both in the name of King Edward and Baliol, and seized all the lands of Robert Stewart in Murray and Bucquain; who, in revenge, got his friends together, and seized the castle of Dunon, slaying all the English therein, and increasing in power, reduced a great part of the country to the obedience of King David; after which, coming to Edinburgh, the earl of Murray and Robert Stewart were chosen governors. This revolution recalled King Edward of England, who quickly marched thither with strong forces and took the town of St. Johnstons, which he fortified with bulwarks and walls, and then went home again. Soon after, Robert Stewart besieged it, and after a long siege had it delivered into his hands, as likewise Edinburgh castle, by this contrivance:—William Douglas persuaded one Walter Towers to provide a ship and to sail into the Forth as a merchant with wine, and coming a-shore he brought two tuns of wine with him, which he offered to sell to the captain of the castle; the price was soon agreed on, and the wine to be brought into the castle the next morning early. Towers comes accordingly with his cart, and the gates being opened, as soon as entered in, he plucked out a pin, contrived on purpose, upon which, the cart and tuns fell down instantly in the passage, so that the gates could not possibly be shut again. Towers then giving notice to Douglas and his companions by the sound of a horn, they presently arrived,

and first killed the porters, and soon after, all the rest in the castle, thereby becoming masters thereof. Other places were daily surrendered to them, so that in a short time all Scotland was recovered, the English and all Baliols partakers with himself being compelled to go back to England, where he made a full resignation of his right to the kingdom to King Edward.

Next year, King David, his Queen, with divers Scotch and French lords, arrived in Scotland in great triumph; and soon after, the Scots made divers inroads into England, carrying away rich booty, being incited thereto by the French King, to withdraw King Edward from Calais, which he then closely besieged. At length, David, with an army of sixty thousand men, marched into Northumberland, and from thence to Durham, burning all before them, churches and chapels as well as other places; against whom the Earl of Northumberland raised puissant forces, and a very great battle was fought; wherein, the Scots were put to flight, though King David acted all the parts of a gallant captain, till at length his weapons being struck out of his hands, one John Copland came up and required him to yield himself prisoner, who, before he would do it, he struck Copland a blow with his gantlet that broke out two of his teeth. Many lords were slain and taken prisoners in this bloody battle, with abundance of common soldiers. After which, the English took divers places; but the Scots at length recovering strength, chose Robert Stewart again governor. This year the battle of Poitiers was fought, wherein the French King John was taken prisoner, so that Edward had now two Kings prisoners in England at one time. After divers years King David was restored to his kingdom, paying one hundred thousand marks for his ransom, and a truce was agreed on for fourteen years to come. A parliament being called soon after, the title of Robert Stewart to the crown was utterly revoked and disannulled, he being charged with the loss at Durham Field, because he caused his men to retreat for their security, which disordered the whole army. John Sutherland, the son of Jane, David's youngest sister, was then declared heir apparent, but he soon after dying, Robert Stewart was again received into favour and his title recognized to the crown. Then King David called a council of his nobility, and acquainted them that he had promised to transfer the crown of Scotland to the King of England's son, and his lawful heirs, if his lords would agree to it: but they unanimously answered, that as long as any of them was able to handle a sword, they would never consent thereto; by which answer David thought himself fully

discharged, and soon after departed this life at Edinburgh castle, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, and 47th of his age, 1370. In his 17th year, many birds and beasts brought forth their young in the winter, and not in the spring. Rats and mice were so numerous as not to be destroyed, and great inundations happened, which did much damage.

LX. Robert the Second, surnamed Stewart, was next advanced to the throne, and crowned at Scone in the forty-seventh year of his age, though opposed by the Earl of Douglas. But, for removing all differences a marriage was concluded between Eufame, eldest daughter to King Robert and James, son to the Earl of Douglas: thus the Stewarts first came to the crown; whose successors happily enjoy the sovereignty of Scotland, England, and Ireland, to this very day. King Robert, before he was King, had two sons by his wife Eufame, daughter to the Earl of Ross, named Walter and David; but before he was married to her he kept one Elizabeth Mure instead of a wife, by whom he had likewise three sons, John, Robert, and Alexander, and several daughters. Soon after his Queen Eufame dying, he married Elizabeth Mure, his old mistress, that the children he had by her might be made legitimate. And a parliament being called, he procured that his eldest son John should succeed to the crown, and his issue after him; and in default, to his sons Robert and Alexander; and if they died without heirs, then his sons Walter and David, whom he had by his Queen Eufame, to reign successively: to which act all the nobility were sworn.

About this time, divers skirmishes happened between the borderers of England and Scotland, with various success; and Berwick was taken, but presently retaken from the Scots. In some of those the Earl of Douglas and the Lord Piercy had notable encounters, as at the siege of Newcastle, where above five hundred English were slain, and above a thousand made prisoners; and soon after, Richard the Second, King of England, invaded Scotland with a great army, under the Duke of Lancaster, and took Edinburgh, but saved it from burning and plundering for a sum of money paid by the inhabitants, and then returning home, the Scots entered Northumberland and got a rich booty, and among other relicts, found a charter of land given by King Athelstane of England, containing only these words: "I, King Athelstane, give to Paulan, Odiam, and Rodiam, all as good and all as fair as ever they mine were, and thereto witness Maud, my wife." Whereby the honesty and integrity of our ancestors appear, who thought these few words as good security as our

volumes of writings and parchments. In this expedition, William Douglas, lord of Galloway, gained much honour; whereupon King Robert gave him his daughter Giles, a lady of most admirable beauty, in marriage. This William was a very stout man, of a black swarthy complexion, and mighty stature and strength. The Scots report, that with only eight hundred men he fought against three thousand English, of whom he slew three hundred in the field, and took five hundred prisoners. Another time the Scots got



RICHARD II.

an advantage upon the English by this policy:—In the night several country fellows having bags of leather like bladders, filled with small stones, ran up and down the English camp; the bags making such a rattling noise as affrighted the English horses, who, breaking their bridles, fled away through the fields, the English not daring to come out of their camps, doubting the sudden assault of their enemies.

Charles the Sixth of France now sent to renew the ancient league with King Robert, at which time, John Lyon, lord chancellor of

Scotland, was slain by the Earl of Crawford because he was so much in favour with the King. After which, a truce was concluded with England, and Robert, by reason of extreme age, being seventy-five years old, died, having reigned nineteen years, 1390. A prince, commended for his justice, but not much for his valour, many great actions being performed by his captains, few by himself; yet he had this happiness, that ruling in turbulent times and over a martial people, he met not with any domestic insurrections or rebellions.

LXI. John, his eldest son, succeeded; but because his name was thought unfortunate in that age by the infelicities of the Kings of France and England, he changed it to Robert, being the third of that name. The truce with England prevented any quarrels on that side, but yet furious dissensions happened among his own subjects, one of which was very remarkable. Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Murray, and James Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, finding that two clans, or families of Irish Scots, were irreconcilable, they proposed that thirty persons of each side should decide the difference; which being agreed to, they were to fight before the King, near St. Johnston's, which they did with such rage and fury that all were slain on one side, except one person only, who, to save his life, leaped into the river Tay, and by swimming over, escaped; eleven of the others being likewise killed. When they first came into the field there was one wanting of the number; whereupon, a country fellow being loth such notable sport should be spoiled, offered to supply the place for half a French crown, though altogether unconcerned in the matter.

A parliament being called, Robert made his eldest son David Duke of Rothsay, and his brother Robert, who was Earl of Fife, and governor of the realm during his father's indisposition, he created Duke of Albany; they being the first who had the title of Dukes in this kingdom. The next year the King contracted a marriage between the Duke of Rothsay and the Earl of March's daughter; but Douglas envying him this honour, by the assistance of the Duke of Albany, caused a revocation of this marriage in council; upon which, the Earl of March desiring satisfaction of the King, had a very slight answer, which so enraged him, that he fled into England to Henry Lord Piercy, called Hotspur, an utter enemy to the Douglas's. Soon after, King Henry the Fourth entered Scotland with an army, without doing any damage, giving rich gifts to the abbies and monasteries, and only requiring the commanders of forts and castles to hang out his banner and arms as he passed by. The

year after, Annibal Drummond, Queen of Scotland, died; whereby the Duke of Rothsay, who had been virtuously educated under her, being now at liberty, fell into all manner of luxury and debauchery, endeavouring to ravish and deflower women and virgins of all qualities; of which, complaint being made to his father, he ordered his brother Robert to take him into custody and endeavour to reclaim him; who being glad of this office, having long designed to root out his brother's family to make way for his own ambition, he seized him and shut him up close in Falkland castle, designing to starve him to death, which was yet awhile delayed by a poor woman's putting in some oat cakes through a chink; and after she was discovered and murdered, another woman fed him with milk from her own breasts through a long reed, who was also dispatched for her charity, so that he was at length constrained to eat not only all the filthy things he could find in the castle, but likewise his own fingers for mere hunger, and so at length miserably died.

The Earl of March and Piercy making several inroads into Scotland, the Earl of Douglas gathered all the flower of the nobility and gentry to encounter them, which they did accordingly; but the English utterly discomfited them, killing and taking prisoners most of them; among whom was the Earl of Douglas himself, Maudo Steward, eldest son to Duke Robert, and divers others lords and gentlemen. The Lord Piercy, elated with this victory, besieged Cockcave Castle, but soon after he was accused for conspiring against King Henry, and a battle was fought at Shrewsbury, wherein Earl Douglas assisted Piercy, yet Henry remained victor, after the loss of divers gallant commanders: the old Earl of Northumberland, father to Piercy, hearing of his son's discomfiture, fled into Scotland for security. At this time King Robert had an account of the murder of his son by his brother, Duke Robert, which he had hitherto concealed from him, and was much disquieted at it, charging Robert therewith, who utterly denied it, and assured the King he would bring out those who did it; accordingly he brought in some wicked profligate fellows, and hired others of their gang to accuse them of the fact, who being tried before corrupt judges of Robert's providing, they condemned and executed divers of them as guilty of the death of the Duke of Rothsay, though they never saw him in their lives.

Yet did not this clear the Duke of Albany from being suspected of the murder; yea, the King himself was much unsatisfied, yet durst not discover it, by reason of the power and policy of his bro-

ther, but rather doubted he would make away his second son James, to prevent which he sent him to be educated in France, giving him also a letter to the King of England, as if he had foreseen what after happened, that if he should chance to fall into the hands of the English, he might thereby procure favour from that King; they were no sooner at sea, but were surprised by an English ship who lay in wait for the prince; others write he desired to be landed there, because he was sea-sick. Being brought to King Henry, he delivered his father's letter, writ in the Scotch dialect, which sounded thus in English.

“Robert, King of Scots, to Henry, King of England, greeting. Thy great magnificence, humility, and justice are very apparent to us by the government of thy last army in Scotland; for though thou didst seem as an enemy to make fearful incursions into our realm, yet we have found that our subjects rather received benefit and pleasure than damage thereby, especially those that received thy noble father, the Duke of Lancaster, (for Lancaster,) when he was an exile in Scotland, we cannot forbear therefore, as long as we live, to love and respect thee as a most noble and worthy prince; for though other nations contend together for honour, dominion, and conquest, yet have we no occasion to invade or injure each other, but rather to contend which of us shall exceed in kindness and humanity one to another, neither shall we engage for or against any but at thy pleasure; and because we are no less solicitous for preserving our children from certain deadly enemies, than thy noble father sometime was, we are constrained to seek support from the hands of other princes, for the world is so full of treachery and malice, that there is no security in the faith of inferior people, since the power of gold is such, that men will leave no cruelty nor villainy unattempted to obtain the same; therefore, because we know thy highness to be endued with many noble virtues, and of such puissance and riches, that no prince at this day may be compared to thee, we desire thy support and humanity at this time: we judge it is not unknown to thy majesty, that our eldest son David is slain miserably in prison by our brother, the Duke of Albany, who in our decrepit age was chose to be governor of our subjects and realm; we therefore beseech thy highness to be favourable to this bearer, James, our second and only son, that he may have leave to live under thy faith and justice, knowing the unstable condition of man's life is suddenly altered, now flourishing and anon falling into utter consumption; consider farther, that when kings and princes have no other defence

but their own subjects, their government is weak and uncertain, for the minds of the common people are more variable and inconstant than the wind; but when princes are corroborated by the amity of other kings, their brethren and neighbours, no adversity can occur to them, nor is there any danger of their being ejected out of their royal dignities. If thy highness (which God forbid) should not assent to our desires, we request you to remember one thing, that in our last truce and conditions of peace it was ratified and agreed, that the supplication made by any of the two Kings of England and Scotland to the other should be in the nature of a safe conduct to the bearer, and this we desire may be observed toward our beloved son; and the gracious God preserve thee, most noble prince."

These letters being openly read, after much deliberation it was concluded that James, Prince of Scotland, should be detained as a lawful prisoner, since several English rebels were sheltered in Scotland, to the displeasure of King Henry; yet was his captivity so favourable that it proved his greatest happiness, being carefully educated in all arts, sciences, and accomplishments which might become a prince and a gentleman. The news hereof struck his father, King Robert, into such grief, that he died soon after, in the sixteenth year of his reign, 1408.

After the death of King Robert, his brother, the Duke of Albany, was confirmed in his office of governor, and the Earl of March was, by the solicitations of his friends, restored to his estate and honour; about which time one Donald of the Isles being denied in a claim to the earldom of Ross, raised forces, which did much mischief, against whom Alexander Stewart, Earl of Marr, gathered a party, and a battle was fought, wherein Donald lost nine hundred, and the Earl six hundred men; upon which Donald submitted himself. King Henry the Fifth succeeding his father in England, proclaimed war against France, and passing over, took young King James with him, whom he required to persuade all the Scots in service under the French to return to their own country, for which he promised to remit his ransom, and send him with great riches and honour into Scotland: to whom James replied, "I very much wonder your highness doth not consider that I have no authority at all over the Scots while I am under captivity, and have not yet received the crown; but if I were at liberty and were crowned according to custom, and had received the oaths of fealty and obedience from my subjects, I might then prevail somewhat in this matter, and should act what was reasonable, but in the mean time I beseech your grace

to excuse me, and not desire that of me which I am by no means able to perform." The King, satisfied with his prudent answer, urged him no more in that matter.



HENRY V.

Robert, Duke of Albany, dying, after he had been governor fifteen years, his son Mordo or Mordach Stewart, Earl of Fife and Monteith, succeeded as governor, wherein he continued four years, though very unfit for that office, being insolent in prosperity and despairing in adversity; and so indulgent over his sons Walter and Alexander, that they committed many horrible outrages and mischiefs; at length Walter being angry that his father denied him a falcon, he plucked the bird from his fist, and wrung off her neck. The father being moved at his presumption, "Well," said he, "since I cannot rule you, I will bring home one ere long who shall govern us both:" after which he used all means possible for redeeming King James, which he did accordingly, his ransom being set at one hundred thousand marks, one half was paid in hand, and the other

discharged, in consideration that James married the Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Somerset.



JAMES I.

LXII. James the First of that name being thus restored to his liberty, was attended with many English grandees into Scotland, where he was received with great rejoicing by his subjects. After his coronation he called a parliament, wherein he took an account of the managements of the chancellor, treasurer, and other officers during the late governor's time, and found that most of the lands and revenues of the crown were wasted and alienated; upon which a tax was levied of tweldepence in the pound upon all lands, and fourpence upon every cow, ox, and horse for two years: this was paid freely the first year, but the next the commons made such heavy murmuring, that he forgave them the rest. Divers complaints were made against Mordach, late governor, his wife and sons, with several other peers for high misdemeanors before the King's return; whereupon they were committed to prison, with the Earls of Douglas, Angus, March, and others. James Stewart, the

third son of Mórdach, in revenge of his father's, mother's, and brethren's imprisonment, burned the town of Dunbrittain, and thereupon fled to Ireland, where he died: next year Duke Mordach, with Walter and Alexander Stewart, his sons, were condemned in a parliament at Sterling, and all three beheaded, whereby the earldoms of Fife, Monteith, and Lennox came into the King's hands; the rest of the imprisoned lords were soon after restored to liberty and favour. Donald of the Isles at this time did much mischief, but being pursued fled into Ireland, where he was beheaded by one Odo, and his head sent to the King for a present, three hundred of his followers were in ten days taken and hanged.

King James then made a progress through the kingdom to punish offenders, allowing no pardon of the governors as being granted for murders, felonies, and other villainies not pardonable by the laws of God; so that in his first two years three thousand persons were executed for their former crimes; notwithstanding which severe justice, one Agnus Duffe came with a crew of thieves and robbers, and took away a great deal of goods out of Murray and Cathnes, to recover which one Agnus Murray pursued him with strong forces, who made such desperate resistance, that there remained only twelve persons alive of both parties, which consisted of many hundreds. Another notorious robber, called Macdonald Ross, was then taken, with twelve of his comrades, who had shod a poor widow with horse-shoes on the soles of her feet, because she threatened to discover their rogueries to the King, which, as soon as she was recovered, she did, who ordered them to be shod as they had done by her; and when they had been three days led about a spectacle to the people, his companions were hanged and he beheaded.

Next year the queen was delivered of two sons at one birth, named Alexander and James; the same year happened a dreadful eclipse of the sun, so that for half an hour it was as dark as midnight, which was after called the black hour. Soon after the King besieged the castle of Roxborough with two hundred thousand men, but was forced to leave it still in the hands of the English; the Lord Scroop was now sent from Henry the Sixth to persuade the Scots to relinquish their ancient league with France, and join with England, which they would by no means hearken to: at this time the Earl of March was imprisoned and disinherited for his former rebellion against King Robert, and soon after Margaret, the eldest daughter of King James, was married to Charles the Seventh of France, and the former alliance confirmed; the lady was sent over in

great state, accompanied with five of her own sisters, and arrived safely in France, though the English in vain endeavoured to seize her in her passage. Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, about this time invaded Scotland with four thousand men, and was encountered by Douglas, Earl of Angus, where after a great slaughter the Scots remained victors, with the death of fifteen hundred English, and four hundred prisoners.

Hereupon King James raised a very great army, and again besieged Roxborough, which when he had reduced to terms of surrender, the queen arrived in great haste in the camp, assuring the King there was a dreadful conspiracy against his life; whereupon he instantly raised the siege to provide for his safety, but it was past remedy, for Walter Stewart, Earl of Athol, was the principal conspirator, alleging that he was the true heir to the crown, being descended from Robert the Second by his first wife, and thereupon he procured Robert Stewart his nephew, and Robert Graham, an outlawed wretch, to join with him in the destruction of the King; who coming one evening with leave of the porters to the Black Friars at Perth, where the King then lay, one of his servants coming out to fetch wine observing them, cried "Treason!" but they presently slew him, which caused so great a noise, that a young lady, named Catherine Douglas, suspecting mischief, thrust her arm in the staple of the door of the King's chamber, which they soon crushed in sunder, and entering slew those that resisted, and then murdered the King himself with many cruel and deadly wounds, the Queen being hurt in attempting to save her lord, and Patrick Dunbar, brother to the Earl of March, was slain in the valiant defence of his master. Thus was King James murdered in the thirteenth year of his reign, and forty-fourth of his age, 1436.

The lords detesting this bloody assassination, used such diligence in apprehending the traitors, that they were all seized and thus executed: the Earl of Athol (who was chief, and likewise concerned in the murder of the Duke of Rothsay aforementioned, and he that persuaded the King to put Duke Mordach and his sons to death to make way to the crown, which he designed by this treason) was three days punished with exquisite tortures before he died; on the first he was stripped naked to his shirt, and often hoisted up by a crane fastened in a cart, and then suddenly let down again, whereby his bones were disjoined, in which posture he was carried through the streets; the second day he was mounted upon a pillar, and

crowned with a red hot diadem, with this motto, "The king of all traitors;" and thus did he enjoy the crown before his death, as a wizard had assured him; the third day he was laid naked on a scaffold, his belly ripped up, and his bowels taken out and burnt before his eyes; lastly, his head was cut off, which with his quarters were fixed in several cities of the kingdom. His nephew, Robert Stewart, was only hanged and quartered, as acting by the instigation of his uncle; but because Robert Graham had imbrued his hands in the King's blood, a gallows being fixed in a cart, he had his right hand nailed to it, and as he was dragged along the streets, his flesh was torn off with burning pincers, his heart and bowels burnt, his head and quarters sent to the townsmen to satisfy the rage of the sorrowful and injured people. Being asked, during his torments, how he dared stretch out his hand against his prince, he replied, "That if he had heaven and hell in his choice, he dared leap out of heaven and the contentments thereof into the burning flames of hell;" an answer worthy of such an execrable traitor. In the reign of this King a sow at Perth brought forth pigs with heads like dogs; a cow had a calf with an head like a colt: before his death a blazing star was seen, and a sword appeared gliding up and down the sky, to the wonder and terror of the people.

LXII. James the Second, of six years old, succeeded his father, and by the universal consent of the three estates was crowned king: during his nonage, Sir Alexander Levingston of Calandar was chosen governor of the realm, and Sir William Creighton, lord chancellor, had the government of the castle of Edinburgh and the King's person; differences arising between them soon after, occasioned much mischief, one thwarting the orders made by the other; the Queen and the governor continued at Stirling, the King and chancellor were in Edinburgh castle. Disorders increasing, the Queen, to regulate them, went with a few attendants to Edinburgh, and persuaded the governor to let her enter the castle to see the King. Three days after, she pretended to go to church one morning early, and having prevailed with her son to put himself into a trunk, she conveyed him upon a sumpter horse to Sterling, where he was joyfully received by the governor, who thereupon raised a strong party, and besieged the chancellor in the castle, but by the mediation of friends an agreement was made. At this time James Stewart, son to the Lord of Lorn, married the queen-mother, and the Earl of Douglas died, leaving a son named William but four-

teen years old, who by ill company grew very debauched and insolent, coming to court attended with two thousand horse, many of them being common thieves and robbers.



JAMES II.

This year the governor took the whole administration of affairs into his hands, which so stomached the chancellor, that going one morning with only twenty-four men to Stirling park, where the King was hunting, and the governor absent, he persuaded him to go with him to Edinburgh; at which the governor being enraged, prepared for revenge, but by the procurement of the bishops they were perfectly reconciled, and the King was to remain with the chancellor; upon which they both consulted how to abate the dangerous ambition of the young Earl of Douglas, and at length concluded to invite him into Edinburgh castle with his brother David. Being come they were entertained with all seeming kindness, but in the midst of the banquet a bull's head was on a sudden brought in and set before Douglas, which in those days was a certain sign of

sudden execution; the Earl, daunted at this horrible sight, leaped from the table to defend himself, but was seized by the guard, with his brother David, and Malcolm Fleming, and all three instantly beheaded at the castle gate. William, his uncle's son, succeeded in the earldom, at which time the King, being thirteen years of age, resolved to govern himself, which Douglas hearing, came to Stirling, and offered him his service and assistance, who received him kindly, pardoning all his misdemeanors, and taking him into such favour, that Douglas in a short time procured the banishment of the governor and chancellor, with all their friends from court; at which they being incensed, raised forces, and other lords assisting each party, a battle was fought, wherein about six hundred on both sides were slain; and a parliament being called, Sir Alexander Levingston and William Creighton, and divers others, were impeached and condemned, some to lose their estates, and Robert and David Levingston were beheaded.

King James was now married to the Duke of Guelderland's daughter, and the next year the English invade Scotland, to requite the many depredations made by the Scots upon the borders, and a battle being fought, the English were vanquished with the loss of three thousand men, and several lords made prisoners, the Scots losing only six hundred; soon after a truce was concluded for three years: then Earl Douglas, with divers other lords and gentlemen, went to Rome to the jubilee, in whose absence his enemies prevailed so much against him that he was summoned to appear before the King in forty days, and for not coming was put to the horn, and his lands invaded and spoiled; but those in his castle making resistance, it was taken and levelled to the ground, of which the Earl having intelligence, returned, and making humble supplication to the King, was restored to his favour, but endeavouring afterward to destroy the chancellor as his principal enemy, he met with such opposition that he was forced to fly out of Edinburgh; yet combining with other lords, he resolved upon revenge, of which the King having notice, sent for him, and persuading him to renounce the confederation with the Earl of Crawford and others, he answered him so insolently, that the attendants about the King slew him on the place.

Douglas being thus dispatched, his brethren thereupon raised open rebellion against the King, and being summoned to appear, they set up papers on the church doors, with the seal of the Douglasses, wherein they charge the King for being a murderer, bloodsucker, and a false and perjured person; they then rob and

spoil the country, doing much mischief, and fighting with the King's forces. Many were slain on both sides, but at length Douglas's confederates forsaking him, he fled into England, and soon after again invaded Scotland, but was discomfited, and again got back to England, several of his companions, as the Earl of Ormond and others, being beheaded. At this time the wars between the Houses of Lancaster and York happened in England, and King Henry was forced to fly into Scotland; but when Edward the Fourth had settled the crown upon his head, remembering how ready King James was to support his adversaries, he ordered some of the borderers to make inroads into Scotland, to prevent which King James marched into England, and besieged Roxborough castle, and being well skilled in shooting, as he was standing near a piece of ordnance which he commanded to be discharged, it being overcharged, broke, and unfortunately killed the King, (and hurt the Earl of Angus,) in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and the twenty-ninth of his age, 1460. The day before his death a blazing star appeared: the year before a person who pretended to be an hermaphrodite, was buried alive for personating a woman, and yet performing the part of a man, in getting her master's daughter with child: about which time a certain thief who lived privately in a den, with his wife and children, were all burned alive, they having made it their practice for many years to kill young people and eat them; one girl only of a year old was saved, and brought up at Dundee, who at twelve years of age being found guilty of the same horrid crime, was condemned to the same punishment, and when the people followed her in great multitudes to execution, wondering at her unnatural villainy, she turned toward them, and with a cruel countenance said, "What do you thus rail at me, as if I had done such an heinous act, contrary to the nature of man? I tell you that if you did but know how pleasant the taste of man's flesh was, none of you all would forbear to eat it;" and thus with an impenitent and stubborn mind she suffered deserved death.

LXIV. James the Third, of seven years of age, succeeded his father, and was presently carried to the siege of Roxborough by the Queen his mother, a woman of an undaunted spirit, who instead of unprofitable lamentations, encouraged the lords to prosecute the siege, which they did with such vigour, that at length the castle was taken and razed to the ground, and likewise the castle of Wark; after which the King returning to Edinburgh, was crowned, seven regents being elected to govern him and the kingdom, till he should

come to age, of which the Queen and Bishop Kennedy were chief; but the next year after she died, having lived somewhat dissolutely after her husband's death, with Adam Hepburn, a married man, whereby her fame was somewhat impaired.



JAMES III.

The King being now about twenty years old, married the Lady Margaret, daughter to the King of Denmark and Norway, and the Isles of Orkney, being twenty-eight, and of Shetland, eighteen, were agreed to remain in the possession of the Kings of Scotland till her portion, which was fifty thousand florins, should be paid. The Earl of Arran, who was one of the commissioners sent to Denmark to bring over the Queen, had some enemies at court, who in his absence provoked the King against him, that he threatened to take off his head at his return, of which his wife, who was the King's sister, giving him notice while he was on ship-board. He sailed back with her to Denmark, and from thence went to Italy, where he was murdered

by a gentleman, for endeavouring to debauch his wife. Donald, Lord of the Isles, though he had served the King faithfully at the siege of Roxborough, yet now returned to his old trade of piracy and robbery; but while an army was providing to suppress him, news came that he with the principal of his confederates were by the hand of heaven struck with madness and distraction, so that they lost all their ships and booty in the sea. An inquisitor about this time was sent from Rome to examine Patrick Graham, Archbishop of Saint Andrew's, whose process against him being sent to the pope, he pronounced him an heretic, schismatic, and accursed, condemning him to perpetual imprisonment, and according to the temper of those times, this sentence was executed, he being degraded and imprisoned during his life. Now Alexander Duke of Albany, brother to the King, was imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, but making his escape, fled into France, where he was kindly entertained; soon after John Stewart, Earl of Marr, the King's younger brother, was imprisoned and condemned for conspiring to bewitch his brother to death, for which his veins were cut, and he bled to death.

King James sent two heralds, by the instigation of the French King, to King Edward of England, to dissuade him from assisting the Duke of Burgundy against France, whom Edward would not admit to audience till he had dispatched a fleet into Scotland, where they took several ships, and burned the town of Blackness, for which affront King James prepared an army to invade England, but was forbid by the pope's legate, that all Christian princes might unite against the Turks, upon which King James disbanded his forces. The Duke of Albany coming out of France into England, King Edward received him honourably, promising as some write, to make him King of Scotland, and thereupon with thirty thousand men, under the Duke of Gloucester, and a strong navy, he designed to invade Scotland by sea and land. The King of Scots hearing of their approach, raised all the strength possible, and marched to the town of Lowder, where being encamped, the Earls of Angus, Huntely, Lennox, Bucquain, the Lords Grey, Lisle, and others, then in his army, entered his lodgings, charging him with several misdemeanours, to the damage of the kingdom, especially hearkening to the lewd counsels of persons of mean birth and quality, such as Thomas Cockrain, whom from a mason he advanced to the earldom of Marr; also for coining copper money, to the unspeakable damage

of the people, in causing great dearth and other mischiefs; that he would not hearken to the advice of his nobility, but neglecting his lawful wife and queen, lived in adultery with an impudent strumpet called Daysy; that he had unjustly put his brother the Earl of Marr to death, and banished his brother the Duke of Albany, and therefore they resolved the realm should be no longer disturbed by such naughty persons.

Hereupon they hanged Thomas Cockrain, William Rogers, and James Hominil, a tailor, over the bridge at Lowder, saving John Ramsey, a youth of eighteen, at the King's earnest desire, and committing the King to Edinburgh castle, they concluded a truce with the English, whereby the Duke of Albany was restored to his country, estate, and honour; and so the English returned home, having taken the castle of Berwick in their march into Scotland. At length the duke was persuaded by the Queen to set his brother at liberty, without consent of the other lords, which they hearing of, fled every one to his own estate, after which followed much slaughter in several places by this difference between the King and his nobles. The Duke of Albany suspecting that poison was given him in his drink in the King's chamber, fled again from court to Dunbar castle, and raising forces, was vanquished by the King, and then embarked for France. Edward the Fourth dying, King Richard usurped the crown, who concluded a peace with Scotland for three years.

But the discontents of the people daily increasing, by reason of mal-administration, and the King again entertaining mean fellows into his council, who abused both nobility and commons, the Earls of Angus, Argyle, and Lennox, the Lords Hale, Hume, Drummond, Grey, and others, conspired to reform these disorders by arms, and to take off the hateful name of rebellion as they thought, they made James Duke of Rothsay the King's son and heir, captain general, though against his will, protesting that they only designed the removal of an evil King, not the destruction of monarchy or their country, but rather the advancement and welfare thereof. The King being informed of this formidable rebellion, was extremely disturbed, and raised an army, but before he would use force, he sent to his son and the lords to propose an agreement: he likewise sent to the French and English Kings, and to the pope, to interpose in the quarrel; but the Scotch nobility and commons were so desperately enraged, that they sent him word if he would resign his crown and dignity they would treat with him, else not. The same answer

was given to the English and French ambassadors, which so incensed the King, that he resolved to meet and fight them, who were now marching toward Stirling, with all their strength; neither could the King be persuaded to stay till the Earls of Huntley, Arrol, Athol, Crawford, Rothes, Southerland, Cathness and Marshall, with other lords, came in with their forces, consisting of forty thousand men, but presently joined battle with them at Banocksbourn, where after a great carnage of a multitude, the King being vanquished, fled into a mill, whither being followed and found, he was cruelly slain, and barbarously left stark naked, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, 1488.



JAMES IV.

LXV. James the Fourth was next advanced to the throne by the nobility, (after they had thus slain their sovereign Lord and King) being about sixteen years old, who was very penitent for being in arms against his father, wearing an iron chain about his middle all his life upon that account, proving a very pious, learned, liberal, and

just prince. After his coronation, the Earl of Lindsay and the Lord Lisle, though in the field with him at the slaughter of his father, yet not finding things to their expectation, raised an army, causing the late King's bloody shirt to be carried before them as a banner, and marching toward Stirling against the young King, they were overthrown at Tollymoss, and divers of the principal slain. A parliament being called, a general pardon was granted by the King to those that fought against his father, and those that aided his father were suspended from bearing any public office for three years. It was likewise declared, that the death of his father happened by his own default, and that King James the Fourth and his adherents were guiltless and innocent of all slaughter then made, and clearly acquitted from all fault or crime upon that occasion, the three estates testifying the same with their hands and seals, with the King's great seal annexed for confirming the same, which was shewed to the Pope, the Kings of France, Spain, Denmark, and other confederates, with whom the ancient amity and leagues were renewed. His two brethren, the Duke of Rothsay and the Earl of Marr, the King caused to be educated in all princely qualities. The pope sent him a rose and sceptre of gold, desiring him to persevere in honour and virtue as he had begun.

At this time, Henry the Seventh reigned in England, and Charles, the French King, sent an embassy to Scotland, that there was some probability of a breach betwixt England and France, desiring the assistance of King James if it should happen, and informing him that he had with him, Richard, Duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth, who had been preserved many years by the Duchess of Burgundy, whom he would send into Scotland, desiring his assistance to settle the crown of England upon him. Soon after, this pretended duke, whose true name was Perkin Warbeck, arrived, and King James, by reason of this French recommendation, entertained him nobly, and married him to the Earl of Huntley's daughter, his near kinswoman; and raising forces, invaded England, hoping the English would quickly flock in to their new King; but wasting Northumberland, and finding none regarded this young pretender, he returned home again with a rich booty. At length, by the mediation of the King of Spain, a truce was concluded betwixt both kingdoms for three years, and King Henry insisted to have Perkin delivered up, but King James, though he was abused by him, would not consent, only desired him to withdraw out of the

realm, which he did into Flanders; but making another attempt in England, he was taken, with his wife, whom, for her beauty, King Henry thought a fitter match for an Emperor than a soldier, and therefore used her honourably, she continuing with the queen, as long as that King lived.

Shortly after a marriage was concluded between King James and the Lady Margaret, daughter to King Henry, and then a peace to continue during both their lives. The next year the Queen was delivered of a son, named James, and two years after King Henry the Seventh departed this life, and his son, Henry the Eighth, succeeded, who sent an honourable ambassage to King James; about which time the English took two Scotch ships, at which King James was much offended, and required satisfaction, but received little; only King Henry promised to send commissioners to the borders to adjust all differences. The French King and the Duke of Guelderland perceiving King Henry was resolved to make war with France, they both sent ambassadors to King James for his assistance, who being desirous of peace, sent to the King of England to persuade him to unity, and offered to compound any differences between them, but received a very slight answer. Soon after, commissioners met on the borders, but could not agree; upon which, King James sent a long letter to Henry, and received as long an answer, whereby James perceived the English designed rather war than peace, and therefore sent an herald to the borders to denounce open war; and raising his forces, the Lord Hume first made an attempt upon some English who had fetched a booty out of Scotland, following them into Northumberland; but an ambuscade of English suddenly issuing out upon them, cut most of them off.

Meanwhile, the whole power of Scotland assembled, and King James in the head of them, marched over the river Tweed into England, against whom the Earl of Surrey, lieutenant of the north, raised a puissant army, and at Flodden Field a bloody battle was fought, which continued three hours, wherein above thirteen thousand Scots were slain, with King James himself, and a multitude of noblemen and gentlemen, and not above two thousand English, so that they obtained a complete victory. Thus died King James in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and the thirty-ninth of his age, 1512. A prince, who, for his politic and just government, deserves to be numbered amongst the most excellent of the Scotch princes.



JAMES V.

LXVI. James the Fifth, his son, a child of a year and five months old, was by his mother (with the universal consent of the scattered remnant of the nobility who escaped) crowned King, the Queen being chosen Regent during his minority, assisted by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Earls of Huntley, Angus, and Arran; but variance happening among them, some of them sent secretly to the Duke of Albany, the King's uncle, in France, to come over and govern the realm, as being next heir to the crown if the child should die without issue; and a parliament being called, he was confirmed governor. Soon after, the Queen was married to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, and a truce was concluded with England for three years. The Duke of Albany in a while arrived from France, and was received with much triumph; upon which, the Earl of Angus and his brother were banished the realm. King Henry was much displeased at Albany's advancement, knowing that he would promote the French interest against his: he therefore sent a herald to Scotland to require the Duke to depart, alleging it was agreed by the French King at their last interview, that he should not come into Scotland; and further, that the King of England was

uncle to the King of Scots, whom he was bound to protect and defend; and that it was not reasonable, since the duke was next heir to the crown, that he should have the government of him, lest he should be made away, as other young princes have been; and that it was very unjust for the Earl of Angus to be banished, whereby he could not enjoy his wife, the sister of the King of England. The herald had likewise in charge, that if the duke refused to depart the realm he should declare open war against him.

The duke replied, "That neither the King of France nor England should hinder him from coming into his native country;" and as for the young King, he loved him as his sovereign lord, and would defend him and the realm against all invaders, according to his conscience, honour, and duty: that he had used all kind of clemency toward the Earl of Angus, notwithstanding his ill deserts, and principally upon the queen's account, whom he would always honour as mother to his sovereign. This answer was no way pleasing to King Henry, and divers mischiefs were committed between both nations by sea and land. At this time the Emperor of Germany coming into England, persuaded Henry to proclaim war against France, whereupon both French and Scots were forbid the kingdom, and their goods confiscated, they being conveyed away with a white cross sowed on their garments. Then the Earl of Shrewsbury invaded Scotland, and the Duke of Albany raised a great army, to march into England, but the nobility refused, alleging that the governor acted only for the interest of France; and that since their King was under age, it was enough for them to defend their own; whereupon it was concluded, that they should only encamp upon the borders and watch the motions of the English; who, under the Earl of Surrey, a while after, made an incursion into Scotland; the Scots repaying them in the same coin; the poor people suffering much damage on all sides.

The Duke of Albany, weary of the dissensions among the nobility, took his leave and departed into France; upon which a peace was concluded with England, and King James, some time after, married Magdalen, daughter to the French King; but she dying within a year, he married Mary of Lorraine, Duchess of Longuevil; about which time great divisions happened in the kingdom in opinions of religion, which seemed to shake the state. Hereupon the King calling a council of his ancient servants, some of whom began to peep through the clouds of those ignorant times, the King demanded their

advice in the matter, and freedom being allowed, one spake to this effect:—

“ Sir, it is not the least blessing of your government that the meanest subject has liberty to declare his judgment to his sovereign, and if ever it were a time to deliver sound counsel it is now. Your kingdom is divided with diversity of opinions; it were to be wished that one true religion were embraced by all your subjects, since differences therein are a punishment from God, for men’s horrible vices and roaring sins, and which many times occasion factions, wars, and utter destruction to nations. But matters being in such great disorder in your kingdom, and sectaries daily increasing, without dissembling my thoughts to your majesty, the preservation of their people being the supreme and principal law which God Almighty hath enjoined to all princes, I think it more expedient to tolerate both religions, than to suffer the common peace of your subjects to be torn in pieces. If you condemn to death those that adhere to the new doctrines for mere matters of faith, it will invite numbers who were ignorant thereof, not only to favour their cause, but to embrace their opinions, pity and commiseration opening the gates, which spreads their doctrines and increaseth their numbers: if you banish them, they are so many enemies abroad ready to invade and trouble the peace of their native country: to take arms against them is as dangerous; religion cannot be preached by arms, the first Christians detested it, since it may produce hypocrites, not sincere Christians. If it be an heresy, it is in the soul, upon which fire and iron cannot work; they must be overcome by spiritual arms: love the men, and pity their errors. Who can enforce a man to believe or not believe what he pleases? To ruin and extirpate them is a weakening to the state, since no man is so mean or miserable, but he is a member of the commonwealth. It is false and erroneous that a kingdom cannot subsist which tolerateth two religions, since a little time will contract acquaintance and familiarity; yea, they will be intermixed in one city, family, and marriage bed. Why may not two religions, I pray, be suffered in a state, till by some sweet and gentle means they may be reduced? Since, in the church of Rome, which boasteth to be unity itself, there are almost infinite sects and kinds of monks, differing in their laws, rules of government, diet, apparel, opinions of perfection. The Roman empire had not its extension by similitude in religion. The murders and massacres committed upon pretence of religion, are far more exe-

crable and impious, than diversity of opinions with peace and quiet, can be unjust, since those who flesh themselves, like famished lions, in the blood of their neighbours, do as much as in them lies to sacrifice their souls to the devil, by not giving them time to repent of their errors. That maxim of the churchmen, that it is more necessary to destroy heretics than infidels, is designed more for the enlarging of the sovereignty and dominion of the pope, than propagating the Christian religion. Kingdoms and sovereignties should not be governed by the laws and interest of priests and churchmen; but, for the public weal, which oft requires the tolerating some defects and errors, it is the duty of all Christian princes to endeavour that their subjects may observe all God's commandments; yet when some vice cannot be extirpate without ruin of the state, human judgment thinks it better to suffer it, as fornication and the like. These men are of the same nature as we, worship one God, believe the same holy records, aim at salvation, fear to offend God as well as we; they only find some abuses in our church, and require a reformation; and shall we for this pursue them with fire and sword, and root them out of the earth? If they be out of the way, let us bring them in; if they be in darkness, let us give them light; not kill, banish, and burn those whom by love and sweetness we might reduce and recal again. Let their opinions be heard and examined before we condemn them; which being holily and righteously done, we shall find it is not our religions, but our private interests and passions which trouble us and the state."

Yet the King followed not this counsel but inclined to the prelates, who persuaded him, that if he suffered the people to question points in religion, they would soon presume to make laws for the government, and restrain the sovereign authority. In pursuance hereof, all who differed from the Romish faith were proceeded against with the utmost severity, which yet did but increase their number. At this, King Henry fearing the designs of the Emperor and French in conjunction with the pope against him, in revenge for having renounced his supremacy, sent, desiring to meet King James at York, and communicate with him about matters of public advantage to both kingdoms, which James promised to do; but afterward, by the persuasion of the cardinal and bishops, who doubted his uncle would prevail with him to follow his example, in throwing off the Romish yoke, he was dissuaded from it, though the Laird of Grange made him so sensible of the danger of not performing his promise, by creating an unnecessary war, that one

time he thus accosted the prelates, "Wherefore," said he, "did my predecessors give so many lands and rents to the kirk? Was it to maintain hawks, hounds, and whores, for a number of idle priests? The King of England burns, the King of Denmark beheads you, and I will stab you with this whinyard." However, when his passion was over, their gold and golden promises of continual supplies in case of war, prevailed upon him to put an affront upon King Henry, and concluded not to meet him, who took it so heinously, that he resolved immediately to invade Scotland, publishing a large declaration of the causes and motives thereunto, making great preparations by sea and land; and at Solway Moss the Scotch nobility were so discontented that one Oliver Sinclair, a person of mean birth, was preferred before them to be lieutenant-general, that resolving not to fight under such a commander, they suffered themselves willingly to be overcome without resistance, without the loss of one man on either side.

The King was not far off when this misfortune happened; with the grief of which, and his two only sons, who died in one day the year before, he fell into a very deep melancholy. The Queen about this time was delivered of a daughter, who only survived him: at the news whereof, sighing a farewell to the world, "It will end as it began;" says he, "the crown came by a woman, and with a woman it will go. Many miseries approach this poor kingdom: King Henry will either take it by arms, or marriage." And five days after he yielded up the ghost; the thirty-second year of his reign, and thirty-third of his age, 1542.

LXVI. Mary, his only daughter, and a child of but seven days old, succeeded her father, of which King Henry having notice, proposed to the lords who were taken prisoners at Solway Moss, that a marriage should be concluded between his son Edward and their young Queen, promising them their liberty without ransom, if they would promote the business, which they all solemnly engaged to perform, and were instantly freed and sent home. Soon after a parliament being called, ambassadors were sent to Henry to confirm the same, and a peace was concluded for ten years by their authority. The Earl of Arran was made governor of the realm, who seemed to embrace the reformed religion, causing one Friar William to preach against images and other popish ceremonies, and the bible was translated and read in the English tongue; and committed David Beaton, cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrew's, prisoner, as being an earnest enemy to the Reformation.



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The French King suspecting that the ancient league with France might be weakened by this alliance with England, sent Matthew, Earl of Lennox, then in his service, into Scotland, requiring him to procure the government of the kingdom, as due to him by right, though now unjustly usurped by the Earl of Arran, directing letters to divers Scotch lords of the French faction, to assist him therein. Having delivered his message, he found the lords and governor very much inclined to King Henry's interest, who sent assistance to them against Lennox; but being upon the borders, the cardinal so managed his kinsman the Earl of Arran, that he revolted from the King of England, and joined with the cardinal, the Queen Dowager, and the French faction, at which the Earl of Lennox was so offended, that he renounced the French King's service, and joined with King Henry, and raising an army, the King of England sent him strong assistance, wherewith he burned Edinburgh, and took Leith, with several other places, discomfiting the Scotch forces in divers skir-

mishes, with the aid of Sir Ralph Evers, and other English commanders.

At this time Cardinal Beaton caused Mr. George Wischart to be burned at St. Andrew's for heresy, a man learned, an excellent preacher, and well beloved by the people. Soon after the cardinal being in his castle at St. Andrew's, several of his intimate acquaintances, as Norman L. Lesly, L. Grange, and sixteen others, entered the castle, and slew him in his bed, seizing upon all the ammunition and rich furniture therein, and several other lords and gentlemen joining with them, were received into the castle, which they defended against the governor. It is recorded, that the cardinal leaning out of the castle window some days before, in great triumph, to see Mr. Wischart burned, the martyr looking up toward him, uttered this prophetic speech:—"He that in such state from that high place now feeds his eyes with my torments, shall in few days be hanged out of the same window with as much shame and ignominy as he now leans there with pride;" which soon after happened, for when he was killed, the provost raising the town, came to the castle gates, crying, "What have ye done with the lord cardinal; where is he?" To whom they answered from within, "Return to your houses, for he hath received his reward, and will trouble the world no more:" but they cried, "We will never depart till we see him;" upon which he was hanged out of that very window to satisfy the people he was dead. Those within the castle defended it eight months; but some forces being sent from France, they were compelled to yield upon terms, only their lives saved, though most of them were by the French sent to the gallies, and after redeemed by their friends for great sums of money.

About this time Francis the French King died, and Henry the Second succeeded. Henry the Eighth of England likewise died, and left the crown to his son King Edward the Sixth, during whose minority the Duke of Somerset was protector of the kingdom, who sent to demand the consummating of the marriage with Queen Mary, which being denied by the influence of French counsels, he raised a strong army, and sent them to Scotland under the Earl of Warwick, who obtained a very great victory, a multitude of Scots being killed, and many prisoners taken, upon which divers strong forts and castles were rendered to the English; after this more aid were sent them from France, wherewith they had divers successful skirmishes with the English. The young Queen was likewise sent to France, where she remained for some time, and was after married to Francis the

dauphin of France. Some time after a parliament was called by the Queen Dowager, who was made regent of Scotland, wherein a motion was made that common prayer should be read in the English tongue, which was greatly opposed by the bishops, and thereupon much disturbance happened. The Queen regent caused John Knox and some others to be summoned before her, who not appearing, were denounced rebels; hereupon Knox persuaded some of the nobility and burgesses to pull down images and altars in several churches, and to suppress divers priories, which the Queen hearing of, sent forces to suppress them under the Duke of Castleherault, but upon meeting and discoursing with the Reformers, who were the Earls of Argyle, Arran, L. Hamilton, and others, he joined with them, and being assisted by Queen Elizabeth, several encounters happened; but at length all matters were composed, and a peace concluded between England and Scotland, about which time the Queen regent departed this life.

The Earl of Lennox was now restored to his honour and estate, and Francis the French King, husband to Queen Mary, dying, she was now a widow, when taking a journey through Fife, she was much pleased with Henry, Lord Darnley, eldest son to the Earl of Lennox, a proper young gentleman, and quickly married him, though the match was strongly opposed by the Earl of Murray and Queen Elizabeth; he was then proclaimed King at the market cross of Edinburgh. Soon after the Duke of Castleherault, the Earls of Argyle, Murray, and their accomplices, were summoned to appear before the Queen and council in six days, which they refusing, were put to the horn, and forces raised to pursue them, but they fled into England, and entreated that Queen to interpose in their behalf; but a parliament being called, they were outlawed, whereupon their friends in Scotland got an interest in the King, persuading him that if he would restore the banished lords and follow their counsel, they would make him absolute King of Scotland, and that the Queen should have little interest in the government; to this he consented, and going about eight o'clock one evening into the Queen's privy chamber, attended by the Earl of Morton, the Lords Ruthen and Lindsey, they told the Queen they would no longer suffer her to govern the realm, and abuse them with the counsel of strangers, as she had hitherto done, and seizing upon David Rizzio, an Italian, her secretary, they immediately slew him, he crying out lamentably, "Justitia, justitia," the King himself being present, and his dagger

found sticking in the body. The Queen was shut up in her chamber, and a guard set upon her; the Earls of Huntley and Bothwel escaped by a back window.



LORD DARNLEY.

Next day the banished lords came from Newcastle to Edinburgh, and were joyfully received by the King and his party; but the Queen a while after having private conference with him, persuaded him to forsake those lords, and go with her; and then joining with Huntley and Bothwel, orders were issued for raising forces, whereupon those lords fled again to England, but upon Queen Mary's request, all concerned in the murder were ordered to depart. At this time the Queen was delivered of a son in Edinburgh castle, and immediate notice thereof sent to Queen Elizabeth by Sir James Melvil, who waited upon her at Greenwich: when she first heard the news by Secretary Cecil, which he whispered in her ear as she was merrily dancing after supper, on a sudden all her mirth was laid aside, and

retiring, she burst out into these expressions :—" The Queen of Scots is mother of a fair son, and I am nothing but a barren stock ;" yet the next day she seemed very joyful to the messenger, and sent the Earl of Bedford to declare the Queen to be god-mother, the King of France and the Duke of Savoy being god-fathers, and the infant was christened James, in June, 1565. In January following, the King came to Glasgow, where he fell sick, and removing thence to Edinburgh, the Queen lodged at Holyrood House, but the King in a house within the town, near the field, where soon after he one night was barbarously murdered, the house being blown up, and his dead body thrown into the orchard.

Earl Bothwel was vehemently suspected as the chief actor in the murder, but it was so carried that he was not only cleared by an assize or trial, but soon after married the Queen, which caused great admiration in many. Some of the lords, enraged at Bothwel's so sudden promotion, fly to arms, and designed to have surprized the Queen and Bothwel; but they having advertisement, got into the castle of Dunbar, and raised what forces they could get together, who meeting with those of the nobility, much bloodshed might have happened, had not the French ambassador composed the difference, and Bothwel flying, the Queen delivered herself up to the discontented lords, who took her with them to Edinburgh. Bothwel escaped into Denmark, where he was made a prisoner, and soon after died there. Several of the murderers were after taken and executed, who all accused Bothwel as the chief instrument in the horrid murder of the King.

LXVII. James the Sixth, not above two years old, was then crowned King at Stirling, by commission from the queen his mother, who resigned the government, and the Earl of Murray was chosen regent during his minority, with power to associate seven others to his assistance, the Duke of Castleherault, and the Earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencarn and Mar; and a parliament being called, an act, among others, was made for abolishing the pope's authority in Scotland. On Sunday, May 2 following, the queen at supper-time escaped out of Lochleven, where she was kept by the regent and the lords, and with the assistance of George Douglas and others was conveyed to Hamilton castle, where she raised forces. The regent upon the news got his friends together, and within two miles of Glasgow a battle was fought, wherein the queen's party were discomfited, fourteen of the name of Hamilton being slain; three hundred were taken prisoners, and among them

several lords. The Queen perceiving from the place where she stood the overthrow of her forces, withdrew into Galloway, and from thence by sea to Workington in England, where she was stayed by Sir Ralph Sadler, and conveyed to Carlisle; after this all the castles and garrisons of the Queen's friends were surrendered to the regent.



JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND, AND I. OF ENGLAND.

In 1569 the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland raised a rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, and burned the Bible; but being suppressed by the diligence of the Earl of Sussex, and other gallant captains, they fled into Scotland; soon after, the regent riding through Linlithgow, was shot to death with an harquebuz by one James Hamilton. After this murder, the lords sent for the Earl of Lennox out of England, who came to Edinburgh, accompanied with several lords and gentlemen, and soon reduced the Earl of Huntley and other lords that opposed him, and was by the parliament made regent of the kingdom; after which the Queen's lords again raised forces and fortified several places, but by the good conduct of the regent they were defeated in several skirmishes; but

at length three hundred of them entering one morning early into the regent's house at Stirling, they seized him and mortally wounded him with a pistol, though he was soon after rescued by the garrison, of which wound he quickly died, and the lords chose the Earl of Mar regent in his stead, who in thirteen months after died, and the Earl of Morton succeeded; at which time the Duke of Norfolk was condemned and beheaded upon Tower-hill for high treason, being charged, among other articles, for designing to marry the Queen of Scots.



EARL OF MORTON.

Ten days after, commissioners were sent to Queen Mary, charging her for usurping the title and arms of England, and for contriving to marry the Duke of Norfolk, to which she answered in the negative. The Earl of Northumberland had wandered in the woods of Scotland since his last rebellion, and was formerly secured from being delivered up by Murray, but now Morton sells him to the governor of Berwick, and he was soon after beheaded at York. The realm was now divided between two factions, the King and the

reformers, and the Queen and her lords, who kept the castle of Edinburgh, but by assistance from England the regent gained it: now several differences arose in matters of religion, some of the lords approving of reformed episcopacy, and others were for the discipline of Geneva, which caused many hot contests, and the regent being deposed, the King, about twelve years old, was crowned at Edinburgh, and a parliament being called, several acts were made concerning religion.

The Earl of Morton, late regent, is about this time accused for the murder of the late King, which he confessed before he died, excusing it, as being forced thereto by the disturbances of that time; the fatal axe, called the maiden, which he had caused to be made by a pattern at Halifax in Yorkshire, falling down between two posts, was now the instrument of his own execution. The Earls of Mar and Gowry, the Lords Lindsey, Boyd, with two abbots, and others, seized the King at Ruthen, from which he soon after freed himself, for being in Falkland, he desired to visit his uncle, the Earl of March, at St. Andrew's, where taking a view of the castle, Colonel Stewart, acquainted of the design, clapped to the gates, and shut out the company, and the next day the Earls of Argyle, Marshal, Montross, and Rothes, the King's friends, came thither to him, and to prevent further mischiefs, the King pardoned all those factious lords who had been his former keepers; after which Earl Gowry, for new treasonable practices, was condemned and executed; the Earl of Arran was now made lord chancellor, with great power annexed thereto. In 1586, Mary, Queen of Scots, was brought to a trial at Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire, before twenty-four commissioners, whose authority she disowned, as being a free princess; yet being charged that Babington, with her privy, designed the death of Queen Elizabeth, she was condemned and beheaded for the same, notwithstanding the repeated mediation of several foreign princes, and the unwearied endeavours of her son King James, who threatened severe revenge for such an unparalleled act; but domestic quarrels and Queen Elizabeth's caresses at length diverted all those thoughts. In 1588, the Spanish armada came against England, upon which the King was persuaded to take this opportunity against Queen Elizabeth; but he told his lords he would not accept the assistance of one mightier than himself to fight his cause, lest he should become master of them all; which resolution much pleased the Queen, as she signified to him by Sir R. Sidney. The defeat of the Spanish fleet much disturbed the Catholics in Scotland; Bothwel

and Huntley take arms, but afterward submit to mercy: the King then goes to Norway; and there marries Ann, Princess of Denmark, and returning she was crowned with great triumph.

The Earl of Bothwel now endeavours to seize the King and court, but the design miscarrying he flies, some of his company being hanged next morning to appease the people. After this, the Earls of Huntley and Murray quarrelling, Earl Murray was miserably slain; Bothwel then contrives new designs, and seizes the King at Holyrood House, and forces him to sign his pardon, to restore him all formerly possessed by him, and to abandon the chancellor, Lord Hume, Master of Glammis, and others; whereupon he grew so insolent, that the King complains of him, and some of his lords joining with him, he got out of his hands, and Bothwel is proclaimed a rebel. In 1593, Prince Henry was born, who was solemnly baptized in great state, Lyon, herald at arms, proclaiming his title thus, Henry Frederick, Knight and Baronet of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothsay, Prince and Steward of Scotland. Bothwel again raises a rebellion with the assistance of the Popish lords, but being discomfited he flies into France, and thence to Naples, where he died poor and miserable. Great disturbance continues about church matters, and the seditious sermons of some ministers cause dangerous tumults. In 1600, Earl Gowry, son of him aforementioned, conspires against the King's life, but is killed in the attempt. On Thursday, March 24, 1602, Queen Elizabeth died at Richmond, declaring King James her successor; the same day the lords assembling, proclaimed him King, as being lineally descended from Margaret, eldest daughter to King Henry the Seventh. They then sent letters to the King of their proceedings, desiring his presence with all speed, as being now a body without a head. The King hastens his journey, and comes to Whitehall May 11, 1603, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and so long had he reigned in Scotland, and was joyfully received and crowned King of England, thereby putting a period to those many mischiefs and miseries which had been occasioned by division of both kingdoms, which were now so happily united into one. The rest of his reign is inserted in a late book, called England's Monarchs; I shall therefore repeat no part thereof, but conclude with this ingenious epitaph, written upon his death, which happened in 1625, after twenty-two years reign in England.

UPON KING JAMES THE SIXTH.

You that have eyes awake and weep, -
For he whose waking caus'd your sleep,
Is now himself asleep, and never
Will wake till he awake for ever.
Death's iron hand hath clos'd his eyes,
Which were at once three kingdoms' spies;
Both to foresee and to prevent
Dangers as soon as they were meant.
That head (whose working brain alone
Wrought all men's quiet but his own)
Now lies at rest: oh! let him have
That peace he purchas'd in his grave.
For if no Naboth all his reign
Was for his fruitful vineyard slain;
If no Uriah lost his life
For having had too fair a wife,
Then let no Shimei's curses wound
His honour, or profane his ground.
Kings are as Gods; Oh! do not then
Rake in their graves to prove them men.
For 's daily toils and nightly watches,
For broken sleeps stolen by snatches,
For two fair kingdoms join'd in one:
For all he did, or meant t'have done,
Do this for him, write on his dust,
King James the peaceful and the just.

Sit Gloria Deo.

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